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7 DECEMBER 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Soviet Union**

### ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-87-039

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**Lukyanov Addresses USSR Procuracy on  
Democracy, Legality**

18000029 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
ZAKONNOST in Russian No 9, Sep 87 (signed to press  
25 Aug 87) pp 3-9

[Speech by A. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 29 July 1987 expanded session of the USSR Procuracy Collegium: "Restructuring, Democracy and Legality Are Inseparable"]

[Text] The period following the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum, which put forward the idea of restructuring and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, was one of the most saturated periods of activity for our party, state agencies, public organizations and the entire Soviet people.

This period is significant for the fact that during it a general concept of restructuring was created and a long-range strategic course for our forward movement was worked out.

The CPSU Central Committee's June Plenum opens a new stage of large-scale work to accomplish the tasks of restructuring.

Today restructuring has been moved to the plane of specific, practical work. Its heart consists of transformations in the economy—the decisive sphere of human activity. But at the same time, restructuring affects all spheres of society's life and the activities of party committees, state agencies, public organizations and all officials.

In this connection the party has worked out a harmonious program aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of the work of law-enforcement agencies and improving all aspects of their activities. It is formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's 20 November 1986 resolution "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and the Legal Justice System and Enhancement of the Protection of Citizens' Rights and Legitimate Interests." This resolution has become the foundation for implementation of a wide range of measures affecting the work of all law-enforcement agencies, including the activities of the USSR Procuracy. The CPSU Central Committee's 4 June 1987 resolution "On Measures to Enhance the Role of Procurator's Oversight in Strengthening Socialist Legality and the Legal Justice System" was a logical continuation of this line.

In it the Central Committee stressed the need not just to improve but to radically restructure the work of the USSR Procuracy and its collegium and local procuracy agencies, bringing about a decisive improvement in the style, forms and methods of their activities.

Why did the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee put the question in precisely this way?

In the first place, because, under conditions of a qualitative renewal of society's economic and sociopolitical life, legality and legal justice acquire absolutely exclusive importance. The creative search of the economic manager and the scientist, the activeness of the employee in the social sphere, and an upsurge in the initiative of millions upon millions of people require a precisely functioning legal mechanism.

In the second place, the principal lever and guarantee of restructuring is the intensification of Soviet democracy, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and the utmost development of the people's initiative. But such democracy is by no means anarchy and license. Given active support for the initiative of the individual, each labor collective and the combined working people, it does not yet mean the indisputable priority of the interests of the people as a whole and the will of the people as a whole as expressed in law, the state plan and government decisions.

In the third place, restructuring is the affirmation everywhere of the principles of social justice and concern for the individual, his well-being and creative growth, which means concern for citizens' equal rights and equality before the law and their social protection. Legality constitutes the sound body of social justice. Without its observance, it is impossible to improve the moral and psychological climate in society.

The understanding of these fundamental positions matured gradually as an overall concept of restructuring was worked out from plenum to plenum of the Central Committee. But an unequivocal conclusion was drawn: restructuring, democracy and legality are inseparable from one another.

"In this connection," as Comrade M. S. Gorbachev stressed at the CPSU Central Committee's June (1987) Plenum, "the tasks of procurator's oversight over the observance of laws by all organizations and officials increase immeasurably."

Consequently, the party turns again and again to Lenin's demand that the "procurator has the right and duty to do just one thing: look after the establishment of a genuinely uniform understanding of legality throughout the entire republic, notwithstanding any local differences and despite any local influences."

This is the source of the main idea of restructuring the work of the procuracy that is formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's 4 June 1987 resolution. It consists in resolutely shifting the center of gravity to oversight over the execution of laws by management agencies, enterprises, institutions and organizations and all officials, and to the utmost strengthening of legality in all spheres of society's economic and social life.

This is no simple thing to do. Let us say bluntly that among certain procurators such restructuring evokes incomprehension and, in some cases, even a kind of allergy. And this is to some extent explicable.

After all, in recent years procuracy personnel have been shifted primarily to the investigation pertaining to specific cases and to oversight over the investigation and inquiry. This is what they were primarily held accountable for and what they were criticized for. And so, they increased the struggle against violations of law that had already been committed and stepped up oversight over the investigation of crimes.

In addition to other reasons, one reason for this overemphasis was that in exercising general oversight it is rather complicated and sometimes simply difficult to sort out the phenomena that give rise to violations of law, especially if they are connected with economic abuses and abuses of office. Here it is necessary not just to get into economics and the organization of production (which requires special knowledge), but also to firmly defend one's positions before the ministries and departments, executives of local party and soviet agencies, directors of large enterprises, and economic managers. I dare say that it is sometimes simpler to investigate a specific crime.

Moreover, general oversight work, on contrast to investigative work, is less noticeable, if one may put it that way. It is difficult to present yourself in an advantageous light in it, while it is easy to incur unpleasantness with various officials. It is possible, of course, to produce "good statistics" with respect to protests, reports and orders. But if matters don't change, the number of them proves little.

Therefore, the task is to achieve a real, and not just apparent, shift of the center of gravity in procurators' work to general oversight and not to permit the imitation of activeness in place of activeness itself. If you take a sober look at things, such imitation already exists. Today it constitutes what may be one of the most widespread impediments to the living cause of restructuring, when, as people say, some people are resolutely doing business while others are diligently creating appearances.

Clearly, such an approach to restructuring is unacceptable and impermissible for us.

The main thing is to use the means of law to support the accomplishment of the party's strategic task—acceleration of the country's economic and social development. The question of raising the level of general oversight is a political question. The procuracy agencies must use their inherent legal means and methods to contribute in every way possible to the development of socialist enterprisingness, the elimination of narrowly departmental bureaucratic obstacles, and the creation of the necessary conditions for successful economic activity; conversely, they

must erect a solid barrier to that which is contrary to the principles of socialist economic management and impedes economic initiative.

It is necessary to ensure the dependable defense of enterprises' cost-accounting rights against any parochial and narrowly departmental influences, and to promptly identify and bring about the revocation of departmental acts that are contrary to law and impede the shift of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing.

How can this be done? The Central Committee resolution instructs that procuracy agencies should focus their principal attention on the exercise of effective oversight over the way in which the executives of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations, and other officials perform their duties with regard to the observance of laws in their assigned areas of work, provide them with necessary assistance in this connection, and promptly identify and put a stop to any violations of legality. This is the main essence of the superme oversight that the procuracy is called on to exercise.

In this connection the party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to endow the procuracy agencies with additional powers, which must be used intelligently and in the interests of their proper objectives.

The basic method of general oversight work consists in conducting checkups and analyzing and eliminating violations that have been identified. More than enough such checkups are conducted. However, analysis of the state of legality is still weak, and the causes of violations of law are not fully identified and by no means always eliminated.

Restructuring requires that procurators' work be judged on the basis not of numerical indices but of the state of legality in a rayon, city, oblast or republic, the quality of the output of enterprises and the absence at them of thefts and false reporting, the level of the campaign against crime and alcoholism, and the content of complaints filed by citizens. There is a need for specific criteria characterizing the actual state of affairs and the productiveness of procurators' work.

Thus, the attitude of procurators' toward general-oversight activities must be fundamentally changed. This area should become the main area in actual fact. There is a need for a clear-cut plan of work for shifting the center of gravity to general oversight, including, if necessary, a plan for the better deployment of the forces of procuracy personnel. This is because, although general oversight is called general, it should in its essence be absolutely concrete.

At one time Roman Andreyevich Rudenko, a remarkable Soviet jurist who headed the USSR Procuracy for many years, said: "The procurators' duty is to intensify oversight over the legality of economic activity and, in cases that require the intervention of the procurator's

authority, to show initiative and determination in putting a stop to any and all violations of laws in the economic mechanism." These words are more relevant today than ever before.

At the same time, the concentration of procurators' attention on general oversight should in no instance signify a weakening of oversight over investigation and inquiry. Let us say frankly that the organization of such oversight in Moscow and, most importantly, at the local level, does not yet ensure proper investigation in a substantial number of criminal cases. Moreover, it would be correct to say that the quality of investigation has deteriorated lately. The number of cases returned for additional investigation has increased. Many cases get bogged down in red tape and have their deadlines repeatedly extended. The party's demands concerning the complete eradication of violations of legality in the work of the law-enforcement agencies themselves are not being carried out satisfactorily. Moreover, the number of such violations is increasing. They frequently entail grave consequences. In the Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, Kirghizia and a number of oblasts in the Russian Federation, more than just a few isolated cases have been brought to light in which criminal charges were unjustifiably lodged against citizens. Illegal detentions and arrests are widespread.

And the quality of procurators' oversight here is indicated by the fact that every year procurators return for additional investigation only one-tenth of the cases that are returned by the courts. This means that the procurator frequently ceases to be the guardian of legality and becomes the zealous defender of the investigators for whom he is responsible, and of his own decisions regarding the issuing of sanctions for arrest or the approval of formal charges. It is clear to everyone that this is an impermissible position for a procurator.

The procurator should have not just the formal but the moral right to carry this lofty title and should implacably fight against crime and for legality and the strictest observance of the presumption of innocence in the process of the preliminary investigation. To this end, we need to thoroughly analyze the organization of investigative work, raise the role and prestige of the investigator, ensure in actual fact his procedural independence from local influences, and constantly intensify procurator's oversight in this sphere.

As we know, the CPSU Central Committee has ordered that a study be made and, by this December, proposals submitted for the organizational restructuring of the investigative apparatus of the internal-affairs and procuracy agencies. And it is necessary to investigate these matters in depth and approach the preparation of proposals with a full sense of responsibility, remembering that it is time to get out of the familiar rut and strive to

see one's work with new eyes, from the standpoint of restructuring and democratization. The interests of the cause, and not the honor of the uniform, should be in the foreground here.

The CPSU Central Committee's 4 June 1987 resolution focuses on the procuracy's guarantee of Soviet citizens' rights and legitimate interests. The consistent deepening of democracy and intensification of the guarantees of citizens' rights will make an increasing imprint on the procuracy's work.

And here we must, in one way or another, free ourselves of the habit of living without continuous monitoring by the public, deputies, the mass media and citizens.

Throughout the country as a whole, procuracy agencies receive some three million letters and complaints annually. Procuracy employees of all ranks should take part in examining them. After all, letters and complaints—even if by no means all of them receive a positive resolution—make it possible to feel our social organism's life pulse and step up all work to protect citizens' rights.

Today the procuracy, like other law-enforcement agencies, rather frequently comes under attack by our press, radio and television. And this must be taken correctly, since in that way we are given assistance in identifying shortcomings and violations and bringing those who commit them into the light of day.

Of course, we favor close attention to every published article. But we cannot permit for one half-truth to be substituted for another in an article, and for some people to try to use the press to settle scores, distort the facts, and call legal actions into question. The Central Committee firmly stands for objective criticism. The 4 June 1987 resolution emphasizes the need to strictly ensure the trustworthiness of articles and refrain from the evaluation of investigative and court cases in which the decisions specified by law have not been made. Therefore, in a number of cases it is necessary to correct the editors of some newspapers and demand of them a more objective reflection of reality.

It must frankly be said that the procuracy and, for that matter, the other law-enforcement agencies do not yet know how to use the rise in people's civic activeness and our democratic institutions in their own interests, for the strengthening of legality and enlistment of the working people in the cause of protecting the legal justice system.

The goals of enhancing legality and improving the protection of citizens' rights should be served by allowing the attorney to participate in a case at an earlier stage in the investigation and by stepping up his role in the trial.

In the interests of legal justice and the establishment of truth, it is also necessary to intensify the adversarial nature of the trial and bring about a situation in which the debate between the sides in court is not just a formality, as often still happens.

The procuracy agencies face the task of overcoming an infallibility complex and developing the habits of objectively and critically evaluating their own work, and the ability to act under the new conditions in the interests of the strictest observance of legality, and on behalf of the triumph of justice. This is especially true inasmuch as we do not yet have, and cannot have, cause for self-flattery. Of course, a certain drop in the crime statistics is currently taking place. But this trend must be regarded primarily as the result of the measures that the party has taken since the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum to strengthen order and discipline, step up the struggle against drunkenness, and reclassify certain crimes as violations of administrative law.

As for the effectiveness of the work of law-enforcement agencies, including the procuracy, it continues to be low. A substantial number of crimes remain unsolved; recidivism, bribery and juvenile crime have increased; home distillation and drug abuse are not dying down; and the number of abuses and violations of legality in the law-enforcement agencies themselves is not declining very fast.

The party demands that the person who serves the legal justice system himself be crystal-pure before the law, the state and the people. We must always remember that violations of legality and errors in the work of the law-enforcement agencies are perceived especially keenly by the working people. They cause tremendous political damage, since they come from those who are themselves supposed to protect the state's interests and act in the name of the Soviet regime.

Therefore, success in the struggle for legality and eradication of crime, without which restructuring is unthinkable, depends to a decisive extent on the personnel of the law-enforcement agencies. Selection, training, advanced training, certification and work with the personnel reserve—all this should be subordinated to one thing: the development of lofty political, professional and moral and ethical qualities in the procuracy employee.

In the past five years about 70 percent of our procurators have been replaced. They have been replaced by young people who are not always adequately experienced. They must be taught, trained and supported. This is no easy task.

During the period of the transition from predominantly administrative methods of economic management to predominantly economic methods, and under conditions in which the role of the law in economic relations is intensifying, the questions of stepping up procurators' economic training arise even more urgently and acutely.

The introduction in procuracy agencies of the positions of specialized consultants on economic matters in no way means that procurators are now free of the need to study economics. The procurator should have a good mastery of the fundamentals of concrete economics and a solid knowledge of economic legislation and labor, land, environmental-protection and civil laws. He is required to precisely determine where there is a legally established prohibition and where there are fully justifiable initiative and enterprisingness that are permitted by law.

The party shows constant concern for procuracy personnel. The CPSU Central Committee resolution deems it necessary to raise the responsibility of party committees for the selection, assignment and training of procuracy personnel, and to put a stop to any attempts to exert pressure on procurators in their decision making, or to interfere in the investigation of criminal cases. But the procurator himself should always act as a principled representative of the center who knows his business. He should be able to defend and protect the interests of the state and the citizen's rights, regardless of any local influences, i.e., he should have a clear-cut stand based on law, conviction and conscience. The work of the procuracies' party organizations should be aimed at the cultivation and development of these qualities.

The CPSU Central Committee's June (1987) Plenum once again emphasized the vanguard role of the party and each Communist in the processes taking place in our society. It is no accident that it was precisely the Communist Party and its Central Committee that initiated all of today's changes. As for questions of legality, I dare say that in the past two and a half years the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo have considered them as much as they were considered over the entire postwar period.

The party is striving to increase the activeness of all its organizations and the initiative of communists to the utmost, permitting no bureaucratic distortions, suppression of criticism, or high-handed exercise of administrative authority. It understands full well that the heart and principal engine of restructuring are the party organizations. And the further restructuring develops and democracy deepens, the greater demands will be made regarding the level of their work. The procuracy's party organizations and communists should be pioneers and organizers of restructuring in their collectives, since they, above all, see all the blunders and shortcomings there, know people's mood and attitude toward their business, and can provide timely help to those who have not yet gained an understanding of the new tasks, can straighten out employees, and can remove those who sabotage restructuring from the way.

A healthy and businesslike atmosphere based on respect and support but, at the same time, on principle, mutual exactingness and comradely criticism should be created in every collective. This is the invariable and, perhaps,

most important part of the work of every party organizations, which is inseparable from the training of a procurator who is competent, devoted to his work, principled and ready to show initiative, and knows how to assume responsibility for accomplishing the tasks that face him.

I would especially like to mention the fact that the procuracy's actions can be effective when they are not just actions but interaction with all the other law-enforcement agencies: the court; the agencies of internal affairs, state security, arbitration and justice; people's control and the auditing apparatus; and public organizations. However, a lack of departmental coordination among the law-enforcement agencies continues to be very strongly felt. Sometimes it reaches the point of absurd red tape and rivalry that cause great harm to our common cause. Therefore, relations among the law-enforcement agencies must assume an entirely different nature, and there must be a genuinely united front in the struggle against crime and a uniform approach to the strengthening of legality and the legal justice system. As we know, the state has entrusted the coordination of all this work to precisely the USSR Procuracy, which, of course, in no way violates the principle of the independence of the courts or the duty of each law-enforcement agency to fully perform its assigned functions.

It is necessary for every employee engaged in the protection of legality to clearly realize that restructuring is not a ceremonial march but a difficult, complex and lengthy process, and a persistent struggle of the new against the old. On this path everyone, including the law-enforcement agencies, has great and difficult work to do.

After all, the resolution on enhancing the role of procurator's oversight is just one link in the work that the party Central Committee has outlined and is carrying out to further strengthen legality and the legal justice system in the country.

Lately a number of important decisions have been adopted that are aimed at combating alcoholism and drug abuse, home distillation and speculation, nonlabor income and parasitism. A set of proposals is being prepared for changing criminal legislation. It is planned to gradually expand the publication of data concerning changes in the crime rate and the number of convictions.

Great tasks arise in connection with the need to improve the courts' work. In restructuring the work of the judicial system, what is had in mind is to enhance the court's public prestige as an elective body that stands closest to the population, strengthen legality in the administration of legal justice, and free the courts from the performance of functions that are not proper to them.

The work of precinct militia inspectors, crime-investigation work, and communications between the internal-affairs agencies and the public are being raised to a new

level. Measures have been drawn up for the radical restructuring of the system and organization of the work of corrective labor institutions.

An extremely important decision has been adopted on expanding the functions of the State Arbitration Commission, which should become a much more powerful instrument of the observance of contract discipline and fulfillment of the requirements of economic legislation. A study is being made of questions connected with enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the justice institutions, attorneys and the legal service in the national economy.

On the whole, a broad codification of all Soviet legislation is to be carried out in the coming decade, and this also means a restructuring of many sectors of law-enforcement agencies' work. Naturally, this also applies fully to the procuracy, which is called on to "join" in restructuring to the utmost and become an active instrument of it.

In this connection it is necessary to very clearly see and understand the specific features of the work that is to be done. In the next two or three years restructuring will go deeper and reach horizons that are directly connected with every person. Along with millions of people who want to work with full productivity, the representatives of inertia, selfishness and idleness are manifesting themselves more and more. Our social adversary—the bureaucrat, the thief, the bribe-taker and the parasite—will also actively adapt to restructuring. To one degree or another, we are already confronting these manifestations.

The most difficult time is coming—the time of decisive actions and the implementation of what has been planned. In assessing this time, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev recalled Marx's words to the effect that in such situations every step of practical movement is more valuable than a dozen programs. Not idle talk but action; not wishes but practical results—that is the main slogan of the moment.

Only such an approach will make it possible to achieve palpable movement in the struggle to strengthen the legal justice system, eradicate any and all socially dangerous manifestations, and improve the entire life of society. One can say with confidence that the procuracy agencies have every ability to be on a par with the great tasks that our Constitution, our party and our people assign us.

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**LiSSR CC Demands Greater Glasnost,  
Democracy from Rayon**

*18000007a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
4 Oct 87 pp 1, 3*

[Unattributed report: "At the Lithuanian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] **The Lithuanian CP Central Committee has adopted the resolution entitled "The Work of the Party's Shakyayskiy Raykom in Developing Democratic Principles and Expanding Glasnost in the sphere of Sociopolitical Life and the Administration of Production."**

In the resolution it is noted that the Lithuanian CP Shakyayskiy Raykom, and the primary party organizations in the rayon, have done a certain amount of organizing and political-educational work that was aimed at the further development of democracy and the expansion of glasnost in production and social life. Broader use is being made of the democratic principles when selecting and assigning administrative cadres. Social organizations have begun working in a more initiatory manner.

At the same time the party's Shakyayskiy Rayon, its buro, secretaries Yu. Yu. Iotsyus, S. Yu. Yuozulinas, and B. S. Vaalaytene, and the primary party organizations have been slowly implementing the decisions of the party's 27th Congress, and the January and June 1987 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the taking of all steps to develop democracy and glasnost, and have not yet achieved on that basis any tangible shifts in restructuring their activity, or the necessary acceleration in most of the sectors of economic and cultural construction.

An insufficiently large role is being played by the plenums of the party's raykom and meetings of the party organizations as agencies of collective leadership. Some of the elected aktiv, principally the workers and kolkhoz members, have not been taking effective part in elaborating the party decisions, are being involved extremely infrequently in the checking of their execution, and have not been carrying out the proper organizing and political work in the outlying areas.

In order to develop intraparty democracy and to intensify the monitoring from below, the rayon has been making insufficient use of the practice of having Communist administrators give oral reports at meetings — and having the other participants discuss those reports — on the administrators' execution of their official duties and the requirements of the CPSU Rules. The confirmation of their party performance appraisals and the consideration of their personal files are carried out without the proper exactingness or adherence to principle.

There is little glasnost in cadre policy or in the formation of a reserve. The elective principle and competitiveness when promoting people to administrative positions are still being used shyly and frequently in a formal manner. During the past two years, out of 26 administrators, only four were elected by competition, and there was not a single instance of a secret ballot.

The party's raykom failed to take the necessary steps to assure that the soviets of people's deputies use their powers, implement democratic principles more completely in their activity, and expand glasnost in the work of the ispolkoms and their apparatuses. Certain ispolkom chairmen, including rayispolkom chairman G. I. Zarembe, are typified by the striving to resolve questions personally. The rayon soviet and the district and settlement soviets do not make it a practice to have the workers discuss ahead of time the questions to be put on the session agenda. There is a large amount of formalism in organizing the work that is linked with the reports given by the deputies to the voters, and also by the ispolkoms to the soviets and the workers.

The party's raykom has not completely rejected the petty guardianship of the trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, the duplication of their work or the stepping in to replace them, and has failed to achieve an increase in their activity by means of the communists who are working in them. This year, in four Komsomol organizations, it was necessary to replace the young communist secretaries as having been unable to cope with their duties.

There have been few positive changes in the style and forms of mass-political work. The level of that work remains low at the Barzday, Nauyas Kyalyas, and Sintautay kolkhozes, the Kolkhoz imeni V. Chapayev, the Shakyay Orchard Sovkhoz, the Kryukay Furniture Factory, and the municipal-enterprises combine. Questions of atheistic, international education or those dealing with subjects pertaining to revolutionary history, are touched upon extremely infrequently. The intention of the 27th CPSU Congress to give priority in ideological-educational activity to individual work with people is being implemented weakly.

The party's raykom has failed to achieve the restructuring of the work of the editorial offices of the *Draugas* rayon newspaper or local radio broadcasting. An insufficient number of statements by ordinary workers continue to be published. The propaganda dealing with advanced experience is of a descriptive nature and does not reveal the process of searching for new approaches or for nonstereotypic resolutions. Questions of party life are illumined in a schematic, superficial manner. In the current year the rayon press has not published a single statement by any of the party raykom's secretaries or the administrators of the rayispolkom. The party's raykom and the editorial offices reconcile themselves to instances when critical statements have been ignored.

For the time being, the processes of the democratization of the administration of production have been proceeding slowly in the rayon, the new management systems are being weakly introduced, and the conditions for increasing the workers' self-interestedness in the results of their labor are not being created. The work with people for purposes of the complete use of the existing production potential has been insufficiently organized. In 1986 the Kolkhoz imeni V. Chapayev, the Tevnye Kolkhoz, the Kidulyay Vegetable-Growing Sovkhoz, and the Shakyay Orchard Sovkhoz used less than 80 percent of their potential for producing gross agricultural output.

The party's raykom, the rayispolkom, and the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] have not been taking all the necessary steps to achieve the fundamental improvement of the work of the economic services at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Last year on seven farms in the rayon the increase in wages surpassed the rates for increase in labor productivity. The payment for labor is not linked with its final results in all the production subdivisions operating on the basis of the collective-contract method. In a number of contract collectives there have been violations of the democratic principles when resolving internal questions, and there has been a lack of the proper support in the form of resources and of skilled aid by specialists.

In the current year the farms in the rayon have been lagging behind in the production of agricultural output. Insufficient attention is being shown to the reinforcement of the fodder base. In the rayon the harvest yield of grain crops and potatoes is lower than the republic indicators.

The opportunities for increasing the production of animal-husbandry output on the private plots are not being used completely in the rayon. Work is being extended extremely slowly to introduce the family contract. Out of 30 farms, only three are developing subsidiary trades. The rayispolkom does not show the proper self-interestedness in creating cooperatives for the rendering of services. There has been a lack of time-responsiveness in eliminating the shortcomings in the work of trade and the municipal-economy services which have been justifiably criticized by the population.

The attention of the buro and of Yu. Yu. Iotsyus, first secretary of the party's Shakyayskiy Raykom, has been turned to the shortcomings that were noted in the decree. They have been required to carry out immediately the necessary practical steps to achieve the further development of the democratic principles and to expand glasnost in the sphere of sociopolitical life and the administration of production in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June 1987 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The party's raykom and the primary organizations have been given the task of concentrating the efforts on the steady development of intraparty democracy and the

increasing of the role played by the plenums, the buro, and the party meetings in the life of the party organizations and labor collectives. They have been required to provide prompt, regular, and more complete information to Communist Party members and non-party members concerning the economic and cultural life of the rayon, the decisions of the superior and local party committees, and the country's political life.

They must guarantee the broad extension of criticism and self-criticism and the intensification of its effectiveness, must establish rigid supervision over the prompt elimination of the shortcomings and causes that have been revealed, and must take decisive steps to eliminate instances of the suppression of criticism.

They must take steps to achieve the further rise in the level of monitoring and verification of execution, to involve the broad masses of the workers in this work, to eliminate the parallelism and duplication, and to intensify glasnost.

They must maintain constant monitoring of the prompt and attentive consideration of the letters sent to the party agencies and to soviet and other organizations, and must develop and implement specific steps to improve the forms and methods of working with letters and of receiving visits by citizens, and to eliminate the shortcomings and the causes that give rise to complaints.

The party's raykom and the primary party organizations have been instructed to carry out consistently the work of improving the democratic principles and glasnost in selecting and assigning cadres. In the practical situation they must broaden application of the election principle, the open discussion of candidates, the approval of the performance appraisals, and the certification of administrators at all levels. They must carry out a well-principled evaluation of the incorrect behavior of Communist administrators and must take bolder steps to get rid of those who do not want to work according to the new methods. They must observe glasnost when forming a cadre reserve and put the system for instructing cadres into conformity with the requirements of the time.

The party's raykom and the rayispolkom have been given the task of creating the necessary conditions for the more complete implementation of the democratic principles of the activity of the soviets of people's deputies. They must eliminate excessive emphasis on organization, ostentatiousness, and the unjustified regulation of the session work. They must develop and support the deputies' initiative and increase in them the sense of responsibility to the voters for fulfilling their mandates and recommendations. They must increase the activity rate of the permanent commissions of the soviets. They must improve the forms of organizing meetings between the administrative workers of the ispolkoms and the deputies with people in their work collectives and at their place of residence. The entire job is to be conducted in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and information

provided to the deputies and the inhabitants of the rayon, and the attempt must be made to make this the standard for life and a system that operates without a flaw.

They must develop the activity rate and independence of the trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, must do everything to support their initiative and involve them in the administration of production, and must constantly coordinate their activity and reinforce the party nucleus.

The party's raykom and the primary party organizations have been instructed to improve the situation with regard to ideological and mass-political work and to make more active use of all the means for exerting an ideological effect upon people for the purpose of instilling in them a conscientious attitude toward labor and socialist property, exemplary discipline, and responsibility for the job assigned to them.

They must take all steps to improve the political agitation on the basis of providing broad and regular information to the public. They must involve in the work as agitators, propagandists, and political information specialists the best-trained people. They must guarantee the improvement of the political and economic education of the cadres and the broad masses of the workers.

They must raise the level of party leadership of the rayon newspaper and local radio broadcasting, must increase the effectiveness of the statements that they provide, and must hold strictly accountable those who fail to react to critical materials.

They must make more active use of various means for exerting an educational effect and the force of public opinion and must eliminate the elements of formalism that are still present in this matter.

The party's raykom, the rayispolkom, and the rayon agroindustrial association have been instructed to carry out a thorough study of the state of affairs with regard to improving the economic mechanism and introducing into practice the progressive forms of the organization of labor and of management methods. They must take immediate steps to prepare the enterprises in the agroindustrial complex for the changeover to full cost accounting and self-financing, and must render assistance in bringing up the economically backward and relatively unprofitable farms.

They are to plan specific steps to introduce the democratic principles and standards that have been enunciated in the Law Governing Labor Collectives into the everyday work practice of the councils of labor collectives.

They must increase the personal responsibility of the administrators and specialists for intensifying agricultural production and for the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges for the sale to the state of all types of output.

They must achieve a fundamental improvement in the support provided to the private plots and must make wider use of all forms of the family contract.

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#### **Local Soviets Accused of Formalism**

*18310405e Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 7 Jul 87 p 1*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 July 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Responsible Duties of Soviets." Pointing out the multifaceted nature of the work of contemporary Soviets of Peoples Deputies, the editorial adds that "many local administrative organs are not in step with life from the point of view of contemporary demands; they are not guaranteeing the multifaceted development of their territories and are allowing instances of formalism and footdragging. They are too slow and passive in meeting the just demands and needs of the workers and in establishing rules. The duties of reconstruction demand a renewal and perfecting of their work forms and methods and that they be consistently bold and militant."

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#### **Private Cooperatives Developing Too Slowly**

*18310405d Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 4 Jul 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 4 July 1987 carries on page 3 an 1100-word article by Z. Abdullayev, chairman of the Azarittifag [Azersoyuz] Ispolkom, on problems in the operations of state-run and private cooperatives; the article is headlined "In the Service of the Village Population." He points out that whereas last year per capita food product services amounted to 21 rubles, the all-Union per capita average was 56 rubles. He also notes that "the general amount of the monthly turnover of the 20 [private] cooperatives in the republic is close to 2 million rubles. More than 200 people are included in these enterprises. But the organization of this work is not meeting the demands of party and government; cooperatives dealing with consumer goods are being developed too slowly."

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#### **Local Enterprises Neglect Mass Political Work**

*18310405b Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 29 Jul 87 p 1*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 29 July 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Mass Political Work in the Village" stressing the importance of conducting effective mass political

work in agricultural regions. "Unfortunately, at a number of enterprises this is not being given the necessary emphasis. There is still no firm system, progress, or goal-orientation in the political education or mass cultural work being conducted." Naming various enterprises in Aghjabadi, Khachmaz, Shamakhy, Mirbashir, Lachyn, Ujar, Salyan, and Zardab Rayons, the editorial points out that "ideological activists rarely speak to the workers and are not giving enough thought to either material and spiritual incentives or to propagandizing leading experience." It adds that local party organizations are at fault.

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**Azerbaijan CP Criticizes Pace of Reconstruction**  
*18310405a Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 25 Jul 87 p 1*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 July 1987 carries on page 1 a 1200-word lead editorial headlined "On the Road to Basic Changes" on criticisms voiced at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee's July plenum concerning the pace of reconstruction in the republic. "The plenum, analyzing the republic's socio-economic and political life from a critical position, demonstrated that there have still not been that many great successes achieved in reconstruction. Even the certain improvement in work has not convinced us." They pointed out that in industry work is proceeding "too slowly," especially in various branches of the oil, machine building, and construction materials sectors. Housing shortages continue, as do consumer goods and service shortcomings.

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**Yevlakh City MVD Cadre Policy Criticized**  
*18310405c Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 3 Jul 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word Azerinform report headlined "In the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs" on an investigation of the activities of the Yevlakh city MVD by the college of the republic MVD. They determined that "the struggle against unearned income had weakened and the preservation of socialist property is not solidly assured." Also, "the principle of the inevitability of punishment is unsatisfactorily fulfilled." The report adds that "the college noted the presence of serious shortcomings in the department's work in the sector of selecting, placing, and training cadres. A situation of complacency and apathy has been created." The chief and assistant chief of the department were fired as a result of the investigation.

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**Uzbek Minister on Restructuring Health Care**  
*18360401b Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 11 Jun 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 11 June 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,700-word article by S. Bahromov, Uzbek SSR minister of health, entitled "Responsibility and Quality in Health Work" in which he states that the basic task of the republic medical establishment is to restructure its work in order to provide skilled medical services and satisfy the people's needs for pharmaceuticals. He reports that most leaders of treatment and prevention establishments have undergone certification. Nearly 10 percent of them were dismissed from their positions for poor work performance, and another group was placed on probationary status until their work improves. The certification process focused on both their professional and human qualities. Despite this there are still people in medicine who are negligent or rude toward patients, and who even break the law. Moreover, some physicians have to advance their skills at all in the past 10 or more years. Bahromov points out that numerous hospitals, polyclinics, rural dispensaries, and surgical stations do not meet sanitary and hygienic standards. At such facilities it has been difficult to install equipment or open sections that would ensure modern diagnosis and treatment. Substandard hospitals for women and children continue to foster the spread of various contagious diseases. Numerous rural hospitals and stations even lack a water supply and plumbing. Instead of blindly increasing the number of spaces in such hospitals, it is necessary to move many patients into new hospitals. Unfortunately, construction of new facilities lags considerably behind demand. Bahromov notes that women and children are the primary sufferers from anemia. In most cases, anemia is connected with frequent pregnancies, especially among rural women. Physicians advise that women space their pregnancies at least 3 years apart to allow the body to recover. The Health Ministry has decided to open offices for treatment of women and children suffering from this disease in oblast medical establishments. Bahromov also points out that despite all the efforts made to prevent viral hepatitis this illness remains widespread in the republic. Preventive measures include drinking only boiled water, washing fruit and vegetables before eating them, not swallowing water when swimming in rivers and canals, taking the ill to hospitals, and following the advice of doctors. Bahromov states that the spread of such contagious diseases is connected to the shortage of water for drinking and other needs and the lack of plumbing in numerous oblasts and rayons. He urges that measures aimed at improving the water supply be carried out at once in order to curb the spread of such diseases.

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**Samarkand Obkom Holds Plenum on Animal Husbandry Problems**

*18360401 Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek  
7 Jun 87 p 2*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 7 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,000-word article by correspondent J. Mamatov entitled "The Responsibility of Leaders Must Be Increased" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Samarkand Obkom at which First Secretary R.S. Ashuraliyev and others spoke about the tasks facing oblast party organizations in improving animal husbandry, and especially in increasing the production of animal feed grains. They pointed out that numerous farm leaders are still mired in their former backwardness and do not take a critical or responsible approach to the situation. In the last 5-year plan R140 million were spent to develop animal husbandry. Yet, in that same period, meat production declined by 3,000 and milk production by 10,000 tons. The average weight of cattle, the volume of milk per cow, and the number of eggs per chicken all declined. These drops are the consequence of producing only 13-15 centners of feed per cow in recent years. Due to the neglect of party, soviet, and farm organs, the oblast

agroindustrial complex lost R14 million in sales of animal husbandry products last year. Numerous rayons and farms were forced to buy feed from neighboring oblasts and rayons. Nonetheless, these farm leaders have yet to draw the proper conclusions from their shortcomings. Speakers at the plenum dealt with problems of mechanizing animal husbandry and increasing the production of feed grains. They noted that oblast farms are getting yields of only 45 centners per hectare of irrigated land, and some considerably less. They attributed this to the low fertility of some land and violations of regulations regarding crop rotation and the cultivation and storage of feed grains. The oblast agroindustrial committee does not show exactingness toward farm leaders who permit plans to collapse, and raykoms take a voluntaristic approach toward communists who do so. Plenum participants sharply condemned false reporting and account-padding, and demanded that farm leaders and party organizations take steps to eliminate these practices. B.M. Istomin, section chief of the CPSU Central Committee, and R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, also spoke at the plenum.

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**Status of Women in Capitalist Countries Decried**  
*18310404b Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 10 Jul 87 p 2*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 10 July 1987 carries on page 2 a 1300-word article by Rasul Malikov and Vahdat Sultanzade analyzing changes in the status of women in the capitalist world as a consequence of the Decade of Women (1976-1985) sponsored by the UN; the article is headlined "Women in the Capitalist World." Claiming that "one cannot say that its results were satisfactory," they cite various data about the low status of women throughout the non-socialist world. They conclude that "we must note with regret that women of the capitalist world live as badly today as they did 10 years ago. They see their rights being blatantly violated within a narrow, limited political, economic and cultural milieu and, more and more every day, are joining the widening struggle for the victory of these rights."

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**Iranian Azeris Write to Radio Baku**  
*18310404a Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 24 Jul 87 p 8*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 24 July 1987 carries on page 8 a 600-word article by Sevda Jafarova on letters received by the Southern Azerbaijan section of the foreign broadcasts department of the State Television and Radio Committee from Azeris in Iran; the article is headlined "A Letter Came From the Other Side..." She notes that letters have been received "from Tabriz, Tehran, Ardabil, and Khoy." Adding that some of these letters include poetry written by listeners, she points out that "the fact that information on these is given in the pages of ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT causes boundless appreciation among our Southern listeners." Some examples of this poetry are given.

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**Illegality of Uzbek Bride-Price Custom Stressed**  
*18360402 Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek*  
*24 Jun 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 24 June 1987 carries on page 4 a 2,000-word article by V. Yegorov, director of the Legal Department of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Is Bride Price a Custom? No, It Is a Crime!" in which he states that materials gathered by court and law enforcement organs provide alarming evidence of the rising number of cases of the practice of bride price in the republic. He argues that one factor in the survival of this vestige of the past is the continued existence of "baronism" among some workers and farmers. Moreover, a number of soviet and school leaders have a laissez-faire attitude toward such practices. The number of serious pieces aimed against religious vestiges and for the education of the religious in the mass media can be counted on the fingers. Republic justice and law enforcement organs are barely involved in the tasks of disseminating legal knowledge and conducting legal education. Yegorov cites several cases to illustrate the legal position toward the bride-price custom. The first case involves the marriage of Ibadulla Yusupov and 16-year old Jamila Ortiqova in Turtkul. The marriage lasted from 10 January to 18 April 1986 at which time the bride's father Qori Ortiqov decided to invoke the "return" custom, according to which the bride is returned to her parents' home if the groom's family had not paid the bride price in full. The groom's mother, Jumagul Yusupova, who lives on a kolkhoz in Ellikkala Rayon, had not paid one half of the 2,000 ruble bride price. Criminal proceedings were initiated against these old people in accordance with Article 99:1 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code (receiving or paying a bride price). The groom Ibadulla Yusupov was also prosecuted under Article 98 of the Code (taking to wife a girl under legal age) and sentenced to ethical correction work and 20 percent garnishment of his salary for one year. As for the groom's mother and the bride's father, the Ellikkala Rayon People's Court sentenced each to ethical correction work and 20 percent garnishment of wages for a period of 2 years. Yegorov refers to several other cases in passing. Last year the Karakul Rayon People's Court of Bukhara Oblast sentenced G. Fayziyev to one year in prison for accepting a bride price for his daughter. In Alat Rayon of this oblast criminal action was taken against kolkhoz member S. Shomurodov; in Khiva Rayon of Khorezm Oblast against R. Nurlayev, A. Sharipova, and R. Masharipova; and in Kungirat Rayon of the Karakalpak ASSR against G. Eshmurodov, all for giving or receiving a bride price. For example, Eshmurodov sold his daughter for 1,600 rubles, a cow, and 50 articles of clothing. Yegorov points out that only recently have Karakalpak courts tried such people in accordance with Article 99:1 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code. That article states that the penalty for grooms, parents, guardians, or relatives who give or accept a bride price, may be imprisonment for up to one year or ethical correction work or community service for the same period. Due to an inadequate knowledge of

Soviet laws, numerous people believe that the bride price is a custom of the people, that it is a personal decision made by the parties to a marriage, and that it is not punishable by law. The practice of bride price was spread prior to the Soviet period. It prevented poor peasants from having families, denigrated the value of women, and reduced them to articles of barter. The Soviet government began to fight this practice when in 1926 the republic Criminal Code made it a criminal offense. However, this clause was omitted from the 1959 Code and the number of cases continued to rise. In 1985 the offense was reinstated in the Code under Article 99:1 which makes the giving or accepting of a bride price punishable by law. Yegorov states that penalties for those who try to gain unearned income through old customs and superstitions should be severe, and that local soviets and law enforcement organs must never be complacent toward such harmful practices.

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**Problems in Religious Belief Among Youth Discussed**

*18310403b Baku ADABIYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri*  
*3 Jul 87 p 7*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on page 7 a 1400-word article by Alipasha Aliyev, Dr Phil Sci, headlined "Personality and Worldview" on problems involved with religious belief among youth. Noting that "among young people religion still cannot affect their entire intellect," he adds that "one still comes across manifestations of religious belief among youth, and this raises many problems. These are primarily connected with the problem of the formation of a scientific-materialistic worldview. Thus, a scientific ideology possessing a high level of consciousness and a spiritual-political maturity must, at the same time, possess a deep atheistic content." A second problem is that "the clergy, in order to preserve their effect and influence, are exerting themselves among adolescents and youth who are still unformed and spiritually and physically malleable."

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**Religion Still Part of Village Burial Traditions**

*18310403a Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri*  
*1 Jul 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 1 July 1987 carries on page 4 a 500-word review by I. Zeynalov of H. Guliyev's book "Some Questions on Family Life in Azerbaijan" (Elm, 1986); the review is headlined "Family Life." The book is divided into four chapters: the first concerns "Family life in the village of the past;" the others concern the Soviet period. The reviewer claims that "little space is given to burial customs in the book, and thus the chapter devoted to it is called 'Some notes on burial ceremonies.' Taking into

consideration that the burial ceremony is still not free of religious customs in rural areas, the author puts forth suggestions and observations for purifying our burial ceremonies."

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**Metropolitan Aleksey Comments on Church-State Relations**

18120003 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38  
27 Sep-4 Oct87 p 13

[Interview with Metropolitan Aleksey of Leningrad and Novgorod, head of the Tallinn and Estonian dioceses, chairman of the Conference of European Churches, member of the Soviet Peace Fund Board by MN correspondent Nikolai Alexandrov, date and place not given: "There Are No Insoluble Contradictions"]

[Text] [Question] What determines, in your opinion, relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the state today?

[Answer] In my view there are no insoluble problems in these relations, and no irreconcilable contradictions. But there are questions awaiting solution. It seems to me that a clear-cut answer to them may be of great importance not only for the Church but also for the whole society.

Soon we shall celebrate on a nationwide scale the 70th anniversary of our state. So, the mature years even of the aged members of the Church passed under the Soviet government. They have been brought up by Soviet power and are Soviet people, citizens of the USSR in the full sense of the word. A large number of believers are labour and war veterans, and the great majority of them are conscientious and honest workers. Therefore, it is particularly sad when, sometimes, at a local level, and running counter to the basic principles of our socialist state of the people, they are treated as "second-rate" people, and looked at with a certain suspicion and watchfulness. Quite often, local bodies violate the existing legislation on cults to the detriment of believers. The more there are such cases, the easier it is for Eastern propaganda "to get hold" of them and use them in their interests. Therefore, I think that the first thing to do is to fulfil promptly the existing legislation on cults.

However, it must be stressed that the operating Resolution on Religious Associations, regulating relations between the Church and the state, was adopted in 1929 and underwent only minor changes in 1975. It was adopted at a time when the events of revolutionary and the first post-revolutionary years were still fresh in people's memory, when the representatives of the Church and believers did not always take the correct stand. And this was reflected in the legislation. Church-state relations have overgrown their limits, mentioned in publications on this issue.

[Question] What is your attitude towards perestroika?

[Answer] I support it positively and am greatly pleased that the time for radical changes in our society has come. It is the moral duty of every Soviet citizen to devote all his efforts and abilities to creative participation in perestroika.

Of course, to reconstruct is much more complicated than to build. But I think that the main point has been achieved—we are giving up the egoistic attitude towards the coming generations, showing concern for the condition of our planet, which we are going to leave to them; we have admitted that the economy is inseparable from morality.

In this connection the dialogue between believer and atheists—a dialogue going on in our society for 70 years now—assumes special importance. It did not always take place quietly. Today both sides are also vitally interested in practical cooperation and in discussing the problems facing our society at the new stage. In a society which was the first to embark upon the road of socialism the dialogue between believers and non-religious people acquires exceptional importance, not only for our country but for all mankind.

The dialogue presupposes polemics and criticism. Not opposing atheistic polemics as such, I want to stress that we stand for conscientious polemics. When atheistic articles and books are written about believers in an unfriendly tone and give unreliable information, this does not contribute to the creation of a healthy atmosphere for dialogue.

Therefore, I think it is necessary to welcome any objective information about religion and the Church (I stress: not apologetic but objective) which, it must be said, has been appearing of late in our press more than before. This information fulfils a major function: it removes biased opinions and the appraisals of atheists regarding believers, and shows that in our country both stick to the same positions. Finally, it consolidates our socialist society.

Many citizens of our country, in the first years after the Revolution, regarded the Church as the spiritual support of the exploiting class. Today, believers and atheists work side by side for the good of their country, for the preservation of peace on our planet, and strive to help solve the tasks of perestroika and democratization of society, set by the leaders of our country. Acquaintance with ecclesiastical life under socialism makes it possible to see that Christian mentality does not take a man away from the world but invites him to serve it for the benefit of society.

The urgent task today is to mobilize our society to carry out the main task of our times—to preserve world peace. On this depends the future of humanity. Practical cooperation between atheists and the representatives of all religions in solving this cardinal task is of vital importance.



[Question] The processes taking place in society have brought about many phenomena, among them the society Pamyat (Memory). What can you say about its activity?

[Answer] The name Pamyat arouses a feeling of respect and imposes a deep obligation upon us. One of the directions in the work of the Culture Fund is to preserve memory of history. If we want to protect and preserve national values, contribute to the creation of objective and strictly scientific history, such an activity deserves every approval and support.

However, it puts you somewhat on guard when the main fervour in the work of active members of the Pamyat unofficial society is directed at searching for enemies, at convincing the public that a certain plot has been staged against Russian national culture. Such an atmosphere, far from serving the cause of strengthening national consciousness, even undermines respect for the movement which degenerates into nationalism and chauvinism, hence distorting the spirit of internationalist fraternity which has always characterized the best representatives of the Russian people, Russian intellectuals. We know from experience that if the solution of the problem begins with a search for "enemies," such enemies are found quickly, but the problems remain unsolved. If the unofficial society Pamyat directed the energy of its members towards creativity, to studying national culture and its contacts with world culture, to

revealing all that is good in man, in his national character, it would be a real service to strengthening national awareness, a contribution to our people's spiritual culture.

[Question] The last question. How do you assess the place of religion in the world today?

[Answer] In the modern, complex and multi-faceted world religion is one of the most significant spiritual and moral forces. Billions of people preach the main religions in the world. Christian churches are vocal on many issues causing mankind concern today. Let's take, for example, the peace-making activity which is given so much consideration by the Russian Orthodox Church. There are such phenomena as Latin American theology of liberation, about which the Soviet press has written repeatedly, a movement closely cooperating with Marxism and actively contributing to the revolutionary process in Latin American countries. It is not by chance that several ministerial posts in the Nicaraguan government are held by Catholic priests.

I think that the Church has something to say to modern man. The Christian tradition is oriented towards the individual with its uniqueness and moral responsibility. To the expansion of mass culture the Church can counterpose the richest spiritual legacy of many centuries, to consumerism—an appeal to man to devote himself to the good of his neighbour; to the cult of violence, brutality and war—the preaching of mutual love and world peace.

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**Shatrov's New Play Introduces Trotsky, Bukharin**  
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[Article by Olga Martynenko: "To Keep the Lights Bright"; first para. editor's note]

[Text] The Moscow Art Theatre is to produce Mikhail Shatrov's new play. The play is Shatrov's version of the events of October 24, 1917, and of a much later period. Rehearsals have already begun. "I hope we could complete rehearsing by November," says Oleg Yefremov, the Art theatre's chief director.

Mikhail Shatrov has been writing this documentary drama about the Revolution for the last 30 years using the resolutions and reports of Party congresses, Lenin's articles and letters, and memoirs of contemporaries. The documentary material appears to be inexhaustible. As the years go by we learn to look anew at the old documents. With age, an individual does not necessarily grow wiser, but society cannot afford not to. I dare say Mikhail Shatrov's political theatre has to a great extent contributed to our society's development and maturity. His plays produced at the Sovremennik, Moscow's Art and the Lenin Komsomol theatres and by other companies throughout the country were not only artistic but also social events, a small contribution to our comprehension of the historical truth, however sobering and bitter.

When the dramatist read his new play to Oleg Yefremov's troupe, he did so to the accompaniment of an electric drill as construction workers were finishing the long-drawn-out reconstruction of the Moscow Art Theatre's original building. For Shatrov's audience the strange duet symbolized a dual dream fulfilled. Here they were preparing for a new season on the historical stage rehearsing a new play full of promise. Its very title, "On... On... and On!" ("A Dramatist's Version of the Events Which Took Place on October 24, 1917, and Much Later"), shows that the dramatist is working his way along his long-chosen path.

Haven't we had enough of feature journalism? Isn't it high time we passed over from a mosaic of documents to psychological drama which alone can reveal the nation's eventful history in terms of individual lives and characters? This question raised by actor Andrei Myagkov during the discussion of the play sounded sensible enough. Perhaps, someone will write such a drama, but for the time being we've got Shatrov's political drama with the psychological portraits of Lenin, Plekhanov, Bukharin, Martov, Kerensky, Stalin, Spiridonova, Struve, Ordzhonikidze, Kornilov, Zinovyev, Kamenev, Denikin and hosts of others.

It is noteworthy that the discussion of the play did not consist of compliments alone. The dramatist goes on working on the play as rehearsals continue. According to

Shatrov, the text will be regarded as final only on the opening night. However, the troupe's support for the idea and purpose of the play was general and unanimous.

Angelina STEPANOVA: "These are striking portraits and destinies. Everything is built on thought. This political play will need great actors to perform it."

Mark PRUDKIN: "The play is sure to evoke outstanding public interest with its combination of history and the present day. It is a fresh look at this combination."

Innokenty SMOKTUNOVSKY: "It's a tough play to stage. It will give us all a powerful and much needed impetus by illuminating the role of the individual in history."

Yevgeny KINDINOV: "Today, you can hardly surprise anyone with daring language, but this is not what the play is all about. The play has a much more serious objective: to investigate history and the motives of the people who made it."

Another characteristic comment came from the Lithuanian Saulius BERNOTAITIS working on exchange at the Art Theatre: "I have lived my 28 years in total ignorance of the past, although my desire to know it was and is immense. We should lift the veil obscuring our history where everything good and bad has its roots. This is exactly what the dramatist does in this play."

Summing up the gist of the discussion, Oleg YEFREMOV said: "The idea of the play is crystal clear to me. Unless and until we speak openly and honestly about the things that have obstructed our movement; until we fully understand the causes of our mistakes, failures and tragedies, we shall not be able to make headway. I am not sure that the play will be to everybody's liking," the director added, "we all know what a storm of polemic raged around 'The Children of Arbat' or 'The White Robes'—the two books describing the blood-soaked pages in our national history."

What does the author think about his play in which 24 real historical personages appear on the two sides of the October 1917 barricades to meet in a hypothetical time-space coordinates in order to clash in polemic?

Says Mikhail SHATROV: "Today, the whole country is discussing our history widely and democratically. Newspapers keep publishing letters with opposing points of view. My play is a sort of a letter to the PRAVDA editor. It's my contribution to this discussion. Let me emphasize that I'm offering my own version of the events which took place on October 24, 1917, and much later. I don't pretend to know the truth. The play is the result of my understanding of this country's history—in connection with the processes developing today. It is the continuity of history that I postulate."

"As my text says, to treat the disease correctly, it has to be correctly diagnosed. The on-going nationwide consultation of specialists debates a very painful issue: the attitude to various periods of our history, primarily, the 1930s. Some view the period in terms of massive reprisals. Others see nothing but unmeasured enthusiasm and a flourishing of socialist democracy, the way our history books used to present it until recently. To my mind, neither approach expresses the reality in full. The period must be analyzed dialectically, the way Lenin taught us. What are we going to take from our past to the future, and what are we going to leave behind? To put it differently, what part of the national heritage do we reject? Only a deep and thorough analysis will allow us to scoop out dirty water and keep the 'creation' intact."

**For how long have you been working on the concept? What problems have you been mostly concerned with since the "Dictatorship of Conscience"?**

"The concept has been there for quite some time. Oleg Yefremov and I have been nursing it. It is our third joint project. The other day, I found the old bill announcing the premiere of 'The Bolsheviks' I got as a souvenir from the actors of the Sovremennik Theatre in 1967. Yefremov inscribed it as follows, 'Dear Misha, let's go on glorifying Bolsheviks'. This is what we tried to do in 'Thus We Shall Win!' at the Art Theatre, too."

"This latest play is built around the theme I have always been concerned with: the theme of revolutionary ethics, about the moral values of the October Revolution. We had to pay a very dear price for the deviation from those high ideals of revolutionary and human ethics. I am not hiding anything of what really happened then. I want my play to give a moral support and be a source of strength to the young people who know little or nothing about our real past. I want them to imbibe Lenin's idea: the seeds of the October Revolution cannot be exterminated. They sprout no matter what tests they might be subject to. It is vital to keep the lights bright to use a high-flown phrase." **I remember your words about the history of the Revolution being the chronicle of all our triumphs and defeats. Which lesson in history is especially important today?**

"The most important thing is to keep going. To stop is fatal. The mechanism of retardation, as I see it, lies in the ideology, practices and morals of the phenomenon I do not like to call 'Stalinism', because the suffix seems to raise it to a pedestal. The phenomenon in question exists within a system of political and moral coordinates which are unacceptable to me, as a human being and a Communist. They presuppose contempt for the people and the treatment of an individual as a means of achieving some ends."

**This problem has been outlined in the "Dictatorship of Conscience". Now you seem to be going further. How could it happen that in the 1930s and 40s, the slogan, "Stalin is the Lenin of today", triumphed?**

"The profound untruth of this slogan which Stalin personally formulated in his autobiography is absolutely evident to me. The resolutions of the 20th and 22nd congresses confirm my belief."

"Why did it happen? Not because it had been programmed in the genes of the October Revolution. There were alternatives: Lenin's plan for cooperation, Lenin's idea of the civil peace party. The main idea of the New Economic Policy (NEP) was civil peace, not civil war."

"It is one of my play's objectives to understand why the alternative variants did not work. Lenin's comrades the Bolsheviks speak in the play about the enormous responsibility the leaders of a revolutionary movement bear. A single person cannot be blamed for everything negative that happens, because the responsibility is shared by all. My play is about the responsibility of the Party, too, when Lenin talked about the resolution of the 10th Congress and his understanding of the Party's unity. This is a poignant issue, too. The Party ossified in the dogmatic understanding of unity could not use all of its rights to warn the masses of the danger. Our history is very involved, and we should carefully separate the wheat from the chaff... The past knows no subjunctive mood. We should study what was, and why out of a million variants this or that one was chosen; what moral and political lessons could be drawn from it."

**Is this why you study in great detail the inner-Party struggle around Lenin's letter to the Congress—his political will, if you like—and introduce the figures of Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin?**

"They were so different, as individuals. Of course, their names must be introduced into historical discussions in keeping with the role they played in the Russian Revolution. Their role should be analyzed dialectically, omitting neither their positive contributions, nor their mistakes. It is a very serious issue, as is the question of the alternative to Stalin. Of course, the issue needs to be studied not only within the framework of a play which is, let me repeat, my version: a view of the historical events from the perspective of one in many millions populating this country."

**You have willed your fantasy to transplant your characters from the past to the present. Is this merely an artistic device?**

"More than that. All those people continue living among us. That's why I thought it possible to bring them all together in order to look at the present day through their eyes."

**Including the eyes of the "embarrassing" Rosa Luxemburg, who utters remarkably relevant words about life dying without openness, electivity, freedom of speech and assembly. What is left is bureaucracy, when a dozen people rule and the workers applaud.**

"She also says another topical thing: Bolsheviks are the people of deeds, not of words."

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### Colleagues React to Rybakov's 'Children of the Arbat'

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pp 4-5, 26

[Letters compiled by K. Andreyev: "'Children of the Arbat': Letters to Anatoliy Rybakov"]

[Text] Anatoliy Rybakov has already received an enormous number of letters from his readers—they come to him from all over the world. Dozens of foreign publishing houses have expressed a desire to publish "Deti Arbata." But the novel will come out as a separate book in our country before all of them, by the end of the year; the Sovetskiy Pisatel Publishing House is preparing it for print. All this again and again attests to the fact that Rybakov's novel has become one of the most significant events in our literature of recent times.

Colleagues—writers and figures of art—were the first to respond to the novel. They had read the novel still in manuscript form before the decision to publish it. The letters sent to Rybakov at that time were not simply letters. Even short messages were as a rule emotional and profound. We decided that they could not be the property of the writer himself—the questions raised in them are too serious and too important. The *Ogonek* editorial office thanks A.N. Rybakov for acquainting us with his mail.

Excerpts from the new novel by A. Rybakov "Children of the Arbat" were published in *Ogonek*, No 11. The full novel had only just come out—in the journal *Druzhba Narodov*.

We met with Anatoliy Naumovich Rybakov in Perekhino.

"I began work on 'Children of the Arbat' at the very end of the 1950's," the writer said. "The novel was first announced in the journal *Novyy Mir* in 1966. A.T. Tvardovskiy very much wanted to publish it and I heard a great many kind words from him but it did not happen. 'Children of the Arbat' was announced for the second time by *Oktyabr*, that was already 1978, but that also ended in failure. But the work continued. A.T. Tvardovskiy had only the first part of the novel in his hands when it became clear that 'Children of the Arbat' would not manage to be published. I then began to work on the second part, and when the novel was 'closed' for the second time, I wrote the third part of it. No one any longer believed that 'Children of the Arbat' would ever be published; not even my greatest friend, my wife, believed it, but I did not stop: all work has to be finished. The work was completely finished in 1982.

"Undoubtedly the publication of 'Children of the Arbat' is one of the signs of the times. If it had not been for March 1985, readers would not have this novel either.

"We are a great power and a great people. And we must keep ourselves that way. In the 1930's the economy developed above all on an administrative level by means of force. People began to fear everything. They tried not to make independent decisions and merely waited for what was said "from above." The shoots that were put out then have to a great extent been preserved to our day. The fear that 'it will come to no good' exists even now. Today this impedes us more than ever. Now all the party's efforts are directed above all at creating a new psychological climate in the country. The only way to reach this is openness. And if there is openness, then we must speak the whole truth. And first of all historical truth. Deceiving people about their own history and indoctrinating them with lies and half-truths means never achieving anything. A society indoctrinated in half-truth is immoral.

"Of course, for me 'Children of the Arbat' is the book of my entire life. But I cannot and will not stand in place. A new work is being pondered and written—a novel tentatively called '1935 and Other Years.' It was announced in the sixth issue of *Druzhba Narodov*. The novel is a grim one, about grim years. It is very complicated to write about everything that happened then, psychologically complicated, but it must be done. If you are going to speak the truth, then you must speak it to the end."

### [The Letters]

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich,

Yesterday I read your novel "Children of the Arbat." What can I say to you in a short letter? You have written an impressive work about the 1930's, given a profound cross-section of society from the party Central Committee "to the very edges" and shown many aspects of the life of that time which are almost unreflected in literature. It is precisely in this attempt of yours that I see the real innovation of the novel. Even by itself this makes the novel very valuable and important for contemporary literature. But, perhaps, its main value is that all of this is presented from the standpoint of truth, frankly and without excuses or closing your eyes to what is difficult, horrible, or even criminal.

It is a epic work about times which have already passed, and I thank you in that you, a participant in those times and a witness, have given testimony about them in literature and done it honestly, intelligently, and artistically. Your novel will remain in literature under any circumstances and it will remain for a long time.

May you be hale and hearty, dear Anatoliy Naumovich.

I embrace you with gratitude.

Yours, Vasil Bykov

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

You don't argue with anyone, you don't refute anyone, you don't lay down any credo, and you don't blacken the times but, on the contrary, you try to give them a natural light.

I would compare the novel with the canvases of our best "peredvizhniki" [school of painters] Surikov, or Ge, or Yaroshenko. There is the same calm, sober painting, the same poetry of reality, the same wealth of artistic idea, the same accuracy of details, and the same content of truth.

Above all it is a voluminous novel. Voluminous not in the sense of the number of pages—there could be a few more or a few less. But in the sense that each event in it is examined voluminously, from all conceivable standpoints and in all angles of approach proposed or self-evident. The term "research novel" suggests itself here. But research must presuppose the author's position. And this position exists. The book is written by a man who understands that the greatest value is life. And that a person must always be in the "circle of settled morality," which consists of love for one's own people, for one's city, and for one's homeland.

The subject of your research is a time, a comparatively short period of time—1932-1934. It is a portrait of the time; its essence and light are people. A gallery of characters passes before the reader—there are many of them and not one of them resembles another one. They are linked and this link is skillfully constructed—it attests to the harmony of the novel's composition. It is difficult to show a character's development in a short time. Nonetheless, the author manages to do so and—what is particularly important—manages to do so in the history of the main heroes. The character of Stalin is written clearly, deeply, and visibly. He is not written but embodied—at times it seems that this reincarnation happened to the author himself, who turned into one of the main heroes. That is how people talk about a brilliantly played actor's role—you succeeded in doing what for any writer (for me, for example) is a task beyond his strength. What is the secret of this reincarnation? The secret is that the author decisively rejects the role of judge. He does not justify and he does not accuse—and this applies to any page of the novel. His only goal is to tell the truth. But it must be told in such a way that it is believed—and this is where art comes on to the scene. The invisible gaze of the author, who is not trying to prove anything, is felt everywhere. At times it seems that he is talking about himself and that it is not artistic prose but a simple frank conversation with the reader to whom the entire book is addressed. And the more modestly the author's voice sounds, the more clearly the 1930's appear before us. It may be that the force of expressiveness by which any character—from the insignificant to the main character—is distinguished and to which whole chapters

are devoted lies in this modesty and inconspicuousness. I do not know another work in Soviet literature which is based on such a passionate desire to tell the truth. And this desire by no means diminishes the force of the novel's artistic merit. On the contrary, this desire increases the novel's artistic merit because the writer never invents anything better or more powerful than the truth. The novel has an indisputable positive effect on our literature. The novel is progressive. It is impossible to move forward without a knowledge and understanding of the past. Long ago Pushkin irrefutably established this—he took up the pen of the historian and understood that study of the past is a guarantee of the development of literature. I am certain that the novel "Children of the Arbat" will be highly praised in our country and will be of unquestionable benefit to it.

Veniamin Kaverin

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

Before I state my opinion of your novel "Children of the Arbat," I want to note that I began to read the book after already knowing about its existence—I knew a long time ago. I knew from people who had read it and I knew from literary rumor which has been discussing your work for several years. My opinion was, of course, kindled by all kinds of conversations and the aura of the difficult fate of this piece. In such cases one is wary of disappointment. At first, in any case. But here I confess that from the very first pages what was happening so captivated me that I forgot about any apprehension and there was no discrepancy between my expectation and reality.

The novel is first of all interesting. It is interesting from the beginning to the end. The life of the young people at the institute and of all this Arbat gang of Sasha's unfolds to arouse increasing interest in a contemporary person. The details of the material and spiritual life of those years, and the main thing—the seething of political and ideological passions—make themselves known with emotion and some burning metaphors. A historical work does not read that way.

What is the secret here? What is the secret of our fervent empathy? I do not undertake to divine the artistic secret of this novel. I am a fairly experienced reader and long ago stopped surrendering to the allure of an adroitly constructed plot. What happens to Sasha is not a clever plot, but the truth of a recent time which still hurts and aches in the soul of every person. And further—all the dislocation of the fates of the children of the Arbat—Varya, Nina, Yuriy Sharok, and others, the life which they choose for themselves, and the circumstances which the characters encounter—Time is revealed very clearly in all this. The conflict in which Sasha finds himself, his expulsion from the institute, and then his arrest all generate circles. They expand and one after another the different strata of society appear in these outrushing

waves. Sasha has already been sentenced to exile in Siberia but the circles are still in motion and this personal history reveals general history.

The question of the novel's publication is above all a question of the attitude toward the 20th Party Congress and its decisions. If we recognize the historical necessity of the problems raised at the 20th Party Congress, with all the consequences of revealing Stalin's cult of personality and the serious crimes linked to it, then undoubtedly the novel "Children of the Arbat" is justified and necessary. There is no lack of moderation and no excessive anger. It is historically honest and ideologically accurate and stands up for truth and for those high ideas of the Soviet order which remain unshakeable for the main hero. He is against all distortions and the dishonesty of people who use high concepts in behalf of their own interests and thus distort Leninist ideas.

Of course, if the 20th Party Congress and the problems raised by it are considered the wrong course, and if those hopes and expectations which it created and which live among us to this day are rejected, then such novels may continue to be concealed from the broad reader.

I think that in the novel "Children of the Arbat" a lofty ideological plan and perfection of artistic embodiment are successfully joined. Be that as it may, the life of this novel has already begun and is continuing and has become commonly known. We made quite a few mistakes when we tried to ban certain major works of our literature. This would be more distressing in relationship to the novel "Children of the Arbat" because before us is the thing which could already be working to cleanse and enlighten human souls with its faith and courageous truth. And the fact of the existence of this novel, it seems to me, must be recognized and changed from semilegitimate to legitimate and desirable.

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich! I congratulate you and thank you for those hours which I spent with this work!

**Daniil Granin**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

I read your novel "Children of the Arbat" with excitement and joy. This epoch meant too much in the history of our people and in the life of each of us for us not to be excited about a stern, honest narrative. But the joy is from the fact that it is a work of art and from the fact that it required courage of thought and courage of spirit from you to tell with such force and penetration things which our literature has almost never dealt with or has dealt with too timidly.

You have created fine examples of pure honorable people dedicated to revolution. They include Sasha and Lena Budyagina and her father, the old Bolshevik Budyagin, and the Chekist Berezin. Their tragedies are the tragedy of the people. And still the strongest image of the

novel is Time and Stalin who embodies Time and everything that in the future, two decades later, will be called the "cult of personality."

Sooner or later great events find their researcher. But this novel is needed today, in this stage when the country is beginning revolutionary transformations. They cannot be carried out while clinging to dogma.

Young people who have not experienced all the tragedies of the past must know and understand what the cause is, what the roots are and what are merely remote consequences. Your novel gives just such a clear understanding. No, this is not historical narration which people read with a tranquil heart. And the pain and the passion of the book are not only in the past day but in our day as well. The novel "Children of the Arbat," written with faith in the political maturity of the reader and with faith that only truth brings up courageous, devoted, and upright people, is addressed to our day.

**Grigoriy Baklanov**

Much Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

The last page of your gigantic kaleidoscopic work has been turned and the last image is alive before my eyes. That rarely happens.

Your novel is a large-scale historical-social canvas drawn with the unhurried, realistic brush of an artist who has posed for himself the difficult but noble and at times even agonizing task of studying the "blank spots" on the map of history. Such spots are intolerable since their emptiness is willy-nilly filled up with the help of the imagination—either a dangerous, artificially excited horror story or a no less dangerous idealization.

There is no self-created pressure in the novel—it is natural, and the author's position is not imposed on the reader but comes by degrees from the situations and the characters. It, this position, is not concealed in any subtexts; the entire text is permeated with it. It is the position of the writer who does not hide his thoughts, believing it his duty to the present and the future to convey even the most tragic experience of his generation. It is the position of a writer who wrote his novel above all aiming to publish it in his own country so that our society can develop without an inhibiting complex of "blank spots" which become spots on the conscience when out of cowardice they are not studied. We will never be able to solve the economic problems facing our people if we do not solve the problem of moral memory from which a courageous analysis of mistakes made which have at times developed into tragedies is inseparable. For a strong person, as for a strong society, it is not important to know what Princess Mariya Alekseyevna, our own or a foreign princess, will say if he openly talks about his mistakes. Frankness is a sign of strength.

Your novel can and must be published because it gives strength to our society and raises its reputation by not fearing what has been passed over in silence. A positive decision to publish this novel will be a major patriotic act since keeping silent about the tragedies of the 1930's leads to our young generation involuntarily beginning to idealize those years to the detriment of the present. But if the young generation knows the bitter truth, then it will value the changes which have occurred.

The many layers of the novel, the gallery of images, and the entire complex and at the same time classic but not overcomplex structure goes back to the traditions of Russian letters of the 19th century. The novel is written without modernistic devices and without stylistic ostentation—its language is democratic and the plot enjoyable and, undoubtedly, many millions of people—workers and peasants and intelligentsia—will read it. But the main thing that it has is two lessons—the lesson of history and the lesson of morality. The main idea of the novel is that one must live so that history and morality are inseparable. The pedagogical humanism of this idea is irrefutable.

**Yevgeniy Yevtushenko**

Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

Your "Children of the Arbat" is a bitter and powerful book. It is bitter in the descriptions of the oppressed atmosphere of life of the 1930's created by the cult of Stalin and powerful in the images of S.M. Kirov, Bud-yagin, Sasha, Varya, and other such characters of the novel whom we trust and on whom we rely and who ultimately stand their ground.

The bitter lessons of the cult of Stalin are too terrible to consign to oblivion and the fact that you, Anatoliy Naumovich, raise those difficult pages of our history in your novel speaks of your, and along with you, our reader's belief in the truth.

Openness is the oxygen of social life.

Respectfully, **Mikhail Ulyanov**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

I read your novel with a sense of enormous joy that finally a person has been found among us who has dared to speak the real truth about the time and thereby perform the writer's main moral task that all of us face but which we are performing badly, meekly, and—I would say—faintheartedly.

The main success, no, some other word is needed here—discovery perhaps (and that is weak!), is the creation of a living, fullblooded image of Stalin. You were the first to do this! It is very healthy that childhood and the source of the "bad child" complex, alone and without friends

and comrades, are dealt with. All Stalin's internal monologues are so authentic that they arouse a strange feeling of the author's complicity, as if he had eavesdropped on them in some mysterious way.

You have completed a colossal labor. The novel is full of human characters, depicted clearly and visibly, which are somehow new to our literature. It provoked shock and so many ideas which simply cannot be told in a few pages.

Many, many thanks!

Yours, **Vyacheslav Kondratyev**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

It is frightening to read your novel.

And what was it like to write it?

But if we do not learn how to think, speak, and write the truth, that truth which we have given birth to and achieved through suffering, then the destruction of the idea of socialism, Russia, and the USSR, and hence, the planet Earth is inevitable.

Our courage is our only salvation.

Your book teaches that courage...

The author's faith in the victory of reason and goodness in our country in this terrible novel permeates the text from the first line to the last.

It is an optimistic book.

And it must be published in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

**Viktor Konetskiy**

Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

I want to sincerely thank you for the opportunity to read the manuscript of your new novel.

It made an enormous impression!

The appearance of this novel will be a great event of our life.

Thank God it happened!

With best wishes, from a person who deeply respects you, **Georgiy Tovstonogov**

Most Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

I became acquainted with the novel and I believe that there has not yet been in our native literature a more clearly artistic monument to the difficult and tragic years of our life.

Among the numerous superficial works, falsifications, and sham objective "truths" which merely distort our history and generate cynicism and apathy, this work distinguished by striking talent is an accurate, unbiased, unmalicious, fair, and humane chronicle.

We are fighting for the high moral attitude of our young generations by recalling the tragic circumstances of history, for the most part those involving war and forgetting that "purgatory" was broader in scope and had more significance. It was. It must not be removed from consciousness—it lives in the stories of witnesses, it nourishes our spiritual life, it is inevitably in our reflections on history and the destiny of mankind; and, what is even stranger, its veiled, timid, three-stage existence in artistic literature, which not only arouses bewilderment but also generates all kinds of fantastic conjectures, alienates us from one another.

**Bulat Okudzhava**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

Many thanks to you for the opportunity to read "Children of the Arbat." I read it with enormous interest. Someone somewhere had to write such a work or one like it. You had the courage and wrote it. After reading it, I felt as though I had lived through a whole epoch with two ages, one bright time and the other troubled and dramatic.

When I was reading, I will not hide it, I sometimes had to overcome my own internal resistance to accepting certain points and certain details. You will understand that after all, I, like you, was molded on the enthusiasm and faith of that time. But the point is not this subjective interpretation. The point is the objective truth which you follow.

You have created a major work—you wrote unfettered and boldly, and you were even playful in places.

May God give you much strength; you have a bold talent.

I embrace you, **Mustay Karim**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

Here it is two months now that I have been under the enormous influence—both artistic and political!—of the huge mass of truth that your novel "Children of the Arbat" was for me. The chain of thoughts and feelings and the constant work of consciousness—all this has not stopped even for a second.

One of the greatest tragedies of the world revolutionary movement is linked to the name I.V. Stalin. Why and how this tragedy occurred are the main questions which every person who is not indifferent to the fate of this movement "suffers with." Unfortunately, the lines of official documents are sparse, contradictory, and at times superficial, and generate a mass of questions for which there are no answers. The sacred duty of literature is to answer these cursed "why's" and "how's," especially the question "why." I will say more, that only literature, because of its ability to penetrate a person's psychology, can give a deep, artistically convincing answer to the question of what happened with Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin, a comrade-in-arms of Lenin, and at the same time his complete opposite, and a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement who objectively did as much to destroy it, the movement, as our class enemies did as a whole.

You are the first writer I know who has made a serious attempt to penetrate to the essence of this man and phenomenon and reveal his roots and genealogy of what came into luxurious flower after 1929.

The truth elevates, and truth, of course, is painful. But if I not only quote but am in fact certain of the rightness of Lenin that "... openness is a sword which itself heals the wounds it inflicts," then I am deeply convinced of the fairness and necessity of what you have done. It is a writer's feat, and a human feat, and I very much want to tell you this.

Why is your novel, which of course will cause a public storm, so necessary to us now after the 27th Party Congress, especially now? Because the clearing of all the obstacles in our path is part of those "lessons of truth" which the congress talked of—in this sense the role and potential of literature is difficult to overestimate. Because the acceleration we are now speaking of, including spiritual acceleration, will become really possible if we finally throw off the heavy burden of the features of the later development of that epoch which you have so brilliantly described.

I am certain of the deep conformity and sympathy of your novel to what the 27th CPSU Congress brought to our life.

Respectfully, **Mikhail Shatrov**

Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

I have always been an admirer of your talent. But this book made a special impression on me. The whole world of that time is shown here and one follows the fates of the heroes with emotion and once one has started to read it is already difficult to tear oneself away.



If the novel is published, it would mean a major step in our politics and in evaluating that time whose mistakes are having an effect even to this day. We have been given a reference point of what to consider good and what to consider bad. The fact that you created this is an artistic and civic feat.

I wish you health, **Oleg Yefremov**

Esteemed Anatoliy Naumovich!

I thank you for the novel "Children of the Arbat." To me its publication seems very necessary for our country.

In order to move forward, we must look into our past without fear and shame—that will help us not to repeat fatal mistakes.

I dream of presenting your novel on the Georgian stage—it is especially important to us.

Yours, **Robert Sturua**

Dear Anatoliy Naumovich!

Accept my gratitude to you as the author of "Children of the Arbat" first of all as a reader: even before and apart from all the serious things which I myself remember, I devoured this thousand pages very ingenuously and even somewhat childishly: "What will happen next?" Quality is quite important in our thoughtful century. This is written accurately and clearly with marvelous stylistic resilience (considering the external strictness of the language), with fine coordination of motives, and with the penetration of a person whose bitter experience has taught him to distinguish the apparent from the real and to see reality in the contrivance of honest errors and real cunning.

What does one take from the book? Above all a portrait of the Arbat: the Moscow street which in the 1920's-1930's became the place for the creation of new legends and which provided a generation of young boys of a great power; and you—by fate—are one of those iron boys and one from the first ranks of the children of socialism whom fate called to carry the war on their backs. A psychological genesis of this generation, its roots, and its mental paradise and mental inferno is given in the novel.

But this is only the first layer which creates a feeling of artistic discovery in the reader. There is also a second. I do not know if it was in your plan to solve the riddle of the psychology of the then guide, leader, and chief—or if by plan the highest echelon of power was to remain in the background in the novel—but now in the text I read this echelon represents an artistic discovery to me.

I want to emphasize: in this drama you have found its internal logic and, what is of enormous importance, the fundamental solution, artistic, ethical, and what have

you. Stalin was a man who absorbed so much of the time in himself and who concentrated so much of both the good and the bad of the situation in himself that it is almost impossible to find the correct tone in reflecting upon him, but you found it. You see both the limits of the internal necessity of action of these people and the how, where, and why they cross these boundaries.

Sooner or later this truth about Stalin must be said, since history will not leave it this way, it will return to it, and it will not tolerate this gap in memory—it is too dangerous. And so: when history returns to it, it is terrible to think how much foolishness and speculation maybe written! How many servile eulogies and how much rage—vindictive and also servile—may be vented on this figure and has already been vented. So I prefer that such truth as yours is told about Stalin. I do not hesitate to say that this truth is Shakespearean and I only ask fate for one thing: that we now have the strength to listen to this truth

Yours, **Lev Anninskiy**

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#### **Letters to OGONEK on Pamyat Society Published**

*18000805b Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 28, Jul 87 p 31*

[Letters in response to article "What Are You Making So Much Noise About?": "What Is Heard in the Noise?]

[Text] The editorial office received many responses to the article "What Are You Making So Much Noise About?" (No 21) which analyzed certain aspects of the activity of the Pamyat movement. We present excerpts from the letters.

I only came into contact with this organization once. It was several years ago at the evening dedicated to Ivan Fedorov. I must confess that the feeling of awkwardness did not leave me after the first half hour of the lecture and then remained for several days. The speech was about the cryptographic writing of the Printing Pioneer—a theme, which, in my opinion, is complex and requires repeated and comprehensive verification and very sensitive presentation. I have been working in science for 18 years and I have never encountered such exhilaration. A categorical statement of views in any area of human relations, especially in science, as it seems to me, speaks of the fact that a person who uses such a manner of exposition is either narrow-minded or a fanatic. That, perhaps, is the main impression about that meeting with Pamyat.

I think that the Pamyat members need to look into their own internal affairs and separate the "wheat from the chaff." But the impression is still formed that, along with

work that is positive and very important in a number of cases (restoration of architectural monuments, for example), chauvinist actions speaking of civic immaturity have begun to appear in Pamyat activity. I am thinking of the failure to understand those consequences which these actions could bring about in society.

—S.D. Albanov, Moscow.

The process of destruction of the people's memory and history continues, despite a few articles which are appearing. In the article "What Are You Making So Much Noise About?" your journal attacked the undoubtedly patriotic organization Pamyat. That is crude and shameful. You did not allow the Pamyat leaders to express their thoughts as you allowed D. Razer (a Jew, I think, by the way), to do on the second page. You want to extinguish the spark of memory.

—S.D. Berezin, Krasnodar.

In the period of the most complex stages of our historical development the best representatives of the Russian people have spoken out against obscurantism and permissiveness. Yes, the "Union of Russian People" was in our history and on its conscience is the Beylis affair and the murder of Bauman and hundreds of pogroms against which L. Tolstoy, M. Gorkiy, A. Chekhov, and V. Korolenko spoke out angrily. That is history for me. But personally I remember Ye. Korolenko's article "The People in White Robes": in my eyes savagery was being committed and when I refused to speak out at the rally for this slanderous article, "unexpected" difficulties began to torment me.

The "struggle against cosmopolitanism" already existed in the life of my generation. After the struggle we found many names missing in science, literature, and music.

In reading the article "What Are You Making So Much Noise About?" I thought: it is good that those who might not have been noticed in time came crawling out of the cracks and began to talk aloud about the "salvation of the Motherland."

Memory [pamyat] is our culture and our conscience and truth. Obscurantists must not be allowed to touch it.

—N.G. Dityateva, Arkhangelsk.

The authors pour dirty water on the activities of the Russian patriotic society Pamyat. What are the authors dissatisfied with—the fact that the participants in Pamyat are protecting the country's historical monuments and identifying the real enemies of the people who are destroying these monuments?! Hidden dissatisfaction with restructuring and democracy creeps into the article.

—N. Stepanov, Moscow.

In my opinion, the Pamyat leaders very cunningly take refuge in concern for the country's historical-cultural values. But they are really trying to split the national unity of the Motherland and are spitting on the friendship of peoples and internationalism. Taking up arms near the Moscow swimming pool, the bawlers from Pamyat forgot how many works of art of Ancient Rus were destroyed in the second half of the 19th century under the slogan "autocracy, Orthodoxy, and national character."

—S. Shor, Kuybyshev.

Until April 1987 I actively engaged in preserving our historical-cultural legacy within the framework of VOOPLiK [All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture], specifically its Moscow City Branch. However the split of the Moscow City Branch [MGO] which occurred in the process of preparations for the 10th Report-Election City Conference and the subsequent events actually resulted in making it impossible for me and many of my comrades to continue their work together with the present MGO leadership. But what happened?

In violation of the VOOPLiK charter and all the procedural norms, in March-April 1987 the MGO leaders, above all S.V. Korolev and V.A. Vinogradov, who promoted the actual conversion of the MGO into a subdivision of the Pamyat association, along with the true ideas of preserving monuments preached demagogic and simply nonsensical ideas. The Pamyat activists under the leadership of V.A. Vinogradov, who is also the chairman of the public inspectorate of the VOOPLiK MGO, assumed the task of driving out all people who did not agree with Pamyat even in some little thing. And such outstanding people as V.L. Makhnach, A.A. Klimenko, I.K. Rusakovskiy, K.V. Parfenov, L.G. Rassadnikov, S.B. Filatov, Ye.B. Pkhor, P.E. Rakhmatullin, and others were gotten rid of. For more than a year V.A. Vinogradov did not attend the MGO section which he nominally headed. However, the demands for a report from the public inspectorate to the city conference, which were in complete accordance with the VOOPLiK charter, were not satisfied and, moreover, many people were ostracized for the "seditious" desire—they were expelled from membership in the branch using the formula "for factional activity and tactless statements against V.A. Vinogradov." This meeting (21 May) took place without those who were expelled—they were not invited to it.

S.V. Korolev, the MGO staff deputy chairman, flagrantly violated VOOPLiK charter norms during preparations for the city conference and personally expunged people whom he did not like from among the delegates. Fearing openness, he, as an example, completely abolished elections of delegates and candidate members of the MGO council from the public inspectorate and appointed them at his own discretion. A similar story occurred with the propaganda section (bureau), where, contrary to the opinion of the council members, Korolev

personally appointed A.S. Onegov, a member of the Pamyat council, its chairman. The April city conference became the apotheosis of the ideas of this association. Hysterical demagoguery poured from the rostrum in a dirty stream and the selected "delegates" raved in the hall.

I want you to understand me correctly. I am also sincerely worried about the condition of our historical legacy and I favor punishing the main perpetrators of the destruction of invaluable monuments. Moreover, I know that among the Pamyat members and people with opinions close to it are many honest patriotic-minded citizens whose services to our society are very great but who are stupefied by demagogic phraseology.

—L.G. Byzov, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics and Prognosis of Scientific-Technical Progress, public inspector of the VOOPiK MGO, and member of the presidium of the Sevastopol Rayon Division of the VOOPiK of the city of Moscow.

**From the editors.** We think that the authors of the letters which distinguish the really noble goals of Pamyat from social demagoguery and illegal actions are right. Unfortunately, as readers could see, there are also attempts to distort the article's meaning in the letters. We think that continuing the conversation will help many people more clearly define their own attitude toward the most important questions of the times. But our times are interesting and important and require clarity of positions from each person who is involved with the great process of restructuring.

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#### **Audience Loss in Theaters Tied to Actors**

*18310401b Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 3 Jul 87 p 5*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on page 5 a 900-word article by Mammad Burjaliyev headlined "The Audience Will Come to the Theater" on the theater's loss of its audience. He claims that "the most important issue disturbing theater workers and causing them to think is that the theater is losing its audience—the spectator has distanced himself from the theater." Analyzing the reasons for this, he says that "some people have noted the weakness of our dramaturgy and certain directors; in general, performances are not meeting the demands of the day." He points out, however, that "the spectator, above all, comes to see the work and the talent of the actor—the actor's play." Citing numerous examples of an actor's ability to attract or lose an audience, he notes that "a talented actor has to wait 3 years for a salary increase, the same as an untalented actor," and suggests that talent be rewarded more rapidly.

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#### **Culture Worker Complains About Garish Advertising**

*18310401a Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 11 Jul 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 11 July 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by culture worker Ali Ismayylov complaining about various factors destroying Baku's beauty; the headline is "Stains on Beauty." "Baku's evenings are magical and beautiful. No doubt the role of the city's lights and advertising is not small in this matter. But we must note with regret that the lights and advertising are not everywhere at the level of contemporary demand. A lack of system, lack of control, carelessness and even irresponsibility reveal themselves. Illuminated signs often distort the names of trade and food institutions. The misspelling and transposition of letters present a laughable view and a distortion of meaning."

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#### **Iranian Azeri Emigre's Memoirs Reviewed**

*18310401c Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 3 Jul 87 p 6*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on page 6 a 1600-word review of Ali Tuda's memoirs "With My Own Eyes" (Azarnashr, 1986) by Nazim Rizvanov; the review is headlined "Memories Enveloped by Flame." The reviewer says that "the collection of memories 'With My Own Eyes,' which recently came off the presses, encompasses the events which Ali Tuda saw and felt and which have lived in his memory for 40 years. According to its composition and esthetic characteristics this work, which is reminiscent of an autobiographical tale, compels attention through its original style, poetic and flowing language, and historical value." Among other roles, Tuda was director of the Tabriz State Philharmonic during the period of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic under the leadership of Pishavari in 1946.

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#### **Uzbek Literary Days Held in Ukraine**

*18360403 Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 30 Jun 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 June 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,700-word article by S.U. Sultonova, deputy chairwoman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and chairwoman of the republic organizational committee for the Days of Uzbek SSR Literature in the Ukrainian SSR, entitled "There Is No More Beautiful Word Than Friendship" in which she states that the Days, to be held on 2-9 July, will be a new factor in developing traditional cultural ties between the two peoples and help mutually enrich and

bring closer their fraternal cultures. She traces Uzbek-Ukrainian literary ties back to the tsarist regime when the rebel poet Shevchenko spent two years in exile in Karakalpakistan. Moreover, the Turkestan intelligentsia was familiar with Ukrainian writers like Ivan Franko, Marko Vovchek, Grebenka, and others. On the eve of the Revolution half a million Ukrainians had migrated to Turkestan, so that their cultural influence was already felt. At the end of the 1930's Uzbekistan, as other republics, began to observe Shevchenko's birthday. New translations of his poetry were made and Khamid Alimdzhan wrote a monograph about him. Komil Yashin dedicated his play "Death to the Invaders" to the courageous struggle of the Ukrainian people against the fascists. In the war years Uzbekistan was the haven for thousands of Ukrainian evacuees, including the companies of several theaters. In 1959 a week of Ukrainian literature was held in Uzbekistan, and in 1965 Days of Ukrainian Literature and Art. In 1972 Uzbek SSR Days were held in Dnepropetrovsk and in January 1986 Days of Ukrainian Poetry were held in Tashkent Oblast.

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**Writer Discusses New Novel on Afghanistan**  
*18350403 Ashkhabad SOVET ADEBIYATY in Turkmen No 3, Mar 87 pp 3-14*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET ADEBIYATY in Turkmen Mar 1987 carries on pp 3-14 a 5700-word interview with the novelist Gylych Kulyyev on the forthcoming publication of his new trilogy "Turbulent Kabul." In the first volume the overthrow of Nadir's dynasty and the transition to the new order of 'Mukhammed Davud's republic' is depicted. He adds that in the second volume "I intend to describe the fall of the republic and the victory of the April revolution." He does not mention the third volume of the trilogy.

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**Lost Story by Purge Victim Found, Published**  
*18310401d Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 3 Jul 87 pp 4, 8*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on pages 4, 8 a 3300-word short story by the Azeri writer Taghy Shahbazi Simurgh titled "The Yellow Cow." In an introduction by Abuzar Ismayylov and Rashid Guliyev, they say that "the personal archives of a number of our prominent writers who lost their lives as a result of injustices during the years of the cult of personality are unknown to us. Up to this time writers and critics have had no information about manuscripts of these writers' works which were not submitted for publication or were half-finished, their letters, correspondence with friends or readers, or other documents." It was discovered that an Armenian translation of "The Yellow Cow" was published in KHORHRDAYIN GROGH, 8-9/1935. It was retranslated into Azeri by G. Mehdiyev. The editors note that "this will also be interesting as a literary fact for researchers on the work of Simurgh, those studying the history of Azeri-Armenian literary relations and literary historians." The story itself concerns "the new policy implemented in the village and kolkhoz construction."

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**Patriotic Poetry From Iranian Azeris Highlighted**  
*18310401e Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 24 Jul 87 p 8*

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 24 July 1987 carries on page 8 a 900-word article by Mehman Valiyev on patriotic poetry written by the Azeris of Iran headlined "Truthful, Hopeful Poetry." Citing and quoting a number of modern Azeri poets now living in Iranian Azerbaijan, he notes that "Elshan Mughanly, who stands out among the young writers for his style and language, discusses the freedom and independence of the people. He also wishes to share with his readers ideas of peace and security." Valiyev concludes that about the poets he cites that "one desire, one wish, one goal unites them: love for the fatherland, love for the soil, desire for freedom, and endless love for the mother tongue."

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### Moscow News Round Table Discusses Unofficial Youth Groups

18120009a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 37, 20-27 Sep 87 p 12

[Text] Some two-odd years ago, information on the appearance of special interest clubs for young people started to be featured in the press. Their titles and mottoes said little to the uninitiated: "Community," "Epicentre," "Candle," "Salvation," or "Che Guevara Club," even though their main activities were combatting ecological problems, rendering psychological assistance to whoever needed it, protecting and restoring historical monuments and developing international contacts.

The first information meeting-dialogue "Social Initiative and Perestroika," attended by people from 47 youth associations, has been held in Moscow. Here, guests of the MN round table—G. Pavlovsky, member of the Council of the Club of Social Initiatives, member of the Organization Committee of the meeting; N. Belyayeva, staff member of the Institute of State and Law, and Yu. Lyubtsev, head of the propaganda and agitation department of the Brezhnev District CPSU Committee—share their impressions of the meeting and prospects for future work.

**The very concept of an unofficial association was regarded by many, until recently, as involving excesses, uncontrollable groups of young people, opposing society to some extent. And today we see them as people who wish to take part in all the processes of transformation in our life. How did the idea of holding the meeting originate?**

**G. Pavlovsky:** Above all it came from the understanding that there was no coordination of activities, though the groups often had different interests. This—and nothing else—makes the law-enforcing organs and the population react negatively to them. The word "unofficial" practically became a swear word, whereas it simply means that a person or a group of people act outside the existing official groups.

The Club of Social Initiatives made a proposal in the *Sobesednik* weekly to hold a conference. The Moscow City CPSU Committee helped to settle the organizational and technical questions.

The meeting was a stormy affair. As it turned out each group understood democracy and interpreted it in the group's own interest: "only we know how to protect monuments," "only we can preserve ecology...." Someone even called these discussions jokingly the kindergarten of democracy. Well, after all, they are the first of their type.

**Extremism is not rational even in words. What legal argumentation can oppose this, without mixing, hotheadedness and interestedness with impermissible extremes?**

**N. Belyayeva:** First, about extremism. Lately the term has started to be used quite often. One group accuses the other of it, refusing to notice its own exultation. This is dangerous. You see, even such a phenomenon takes shape as an extremist struggle against extremism.

For some reason it is deemed that the entire field of amateur associations does not coincide with the state system. But that's not so. They are legalized by the Constitution and there are special laws for them. Today it is equally important to improve legal foundations and to increase awareness of the law.

**The first meeting can be accepted as one more stress on Party organs, which has been imposed upon you by public associations, or it can be considered as a new opportunity to use additional assistants in the country's perestroika process. What do you think about it?**

**Yu. Lyubtsev:** We hold the latter stand nearer and dearer. My impressions of the meeting are different. We can divide all we've heard into two parts. The first consisted of constructive proposals for the clubs' participation in dealing with ecological and production problems. The second, theoretical, needs discussion to define clear-cut positions.

We've been saying for a long time that we have no unofficial associations at all. But we do; they have appeared in places where we were unable or unwilling to work. At present, we have some know-how in our district. Two self-financing associations and the artistic associations Vernisazh (Opening Day) and Hermitage are operating. Recently, we arranged an exhibition by A. Zverev, which aroused broad interest among Muscovites. He wasn't a member of the Artists Union and, therefore, could not expect to have his own personal exhibition.

Practical activity puts everything in its own place. It makes real leaders—leaders, and turns the windbags, with their halo of illegality, into naked kings.

Another example. The Democracy and Humanism group which traditionally claimed to be the sole mouthpiece of public opinion to the Western press, found itself in a tough situation at the meeting, when other independent associations opposed the group's views.

**It is now quite appropriate to remember Arkady Gaidar's book "Timur and His Team," only not its first, but the second part. When Timur got himself a telephone and a portfolio—the team became scattered. Timur still was, but the team was no more. Could something like this happen when we give official status to these groups?**

**Yu. Lyubtsev:** I realize your fears. We even joked that the Organizing Committee's idea looked like an attempt to make official the unofficial. But, if we're to speak seriously, then the road will test the walker. When all the words are expended, it will become clear which group is

viable and which isn't. Some groups will dissolve, others will appear. But we don't expect to impose either a telephone or a portfolio on anyone.

Whether we like it or not, the discussion at the meeting designated the appearance of a new young people's organization. How will the Komsomol react to it? Will it be a peaceful neighbour or will it start looking for points of interaction?

**G. Pavlovsky:** The Komsomol knew about this meeting, but expressed practically no interest in it.

**(Stormy objections.)**

As you like it—you can argue against my impressions later on. But it is just as easy for us to interact with the Party organs as it is difficult with the Komsomol. It doesn't try to draw us into some activity and doesn't join this activity itself. At the very best it offers us a roof over our heads and everything else is done for the sake of keeping the accounts.

**Yu. Lyubtsev:** I wouldn't call the people from unofficial associations non-Komsomols. There are quite a few Komsomol members among them. Well, and how is the Komsomol to determine its relations with them, it would be more logical to ask the Komsomol about this.

After overcoming the trend of "not allowing" we sometimes fall into the other extreme, which I'd call a sort of fear of young people. One already hears voices: "Let 'em do as they please!" But it cannot be so. Any society lives within a definite frame-work of law and any public movement should have legal foundations and legal limitations. Don't you think so?

**N. Belyayeva:** A legal boom is now in progress. Our institute is working as a fire brigade. We never saw such intensive law creation. You spoke, for example, about legal framework, but some of the laws were made in the 50s and even in the 30s. Now they are being reconsidered, particularly in regard to what the activities of the voluntary societies involve.

**G. Pavlovsky:** There is a very good democratic rule—whatever is not banned is permitted. Everybody should get used to it. The recent clashes between some groups of young people, the attempts made to decide conflicts of opinions by force were a sad lesson for us. This happened, to a great extent, due to lack of, or distorted information about each other. This must not be repeated. A practical aspect of our meeting was the setting up of an independent press centre, which would provide information about the goals and tasks of this or that movement, and of the so-called arbitration group which should settle conflicts peacefully on the basis of justice and democracy.

Human loneliness is called, together with AIDS, the plague of the 20th century. Now we can analyze the youth movement in the 70s, which was born in reply to stagnation and which became isolated in different apartments. Young people got together according to tastes and preferences in music—they became "blockheads" listening to it. Escaping from the zero they came back to the same zero, because there were no clear prospects, no goals. Is there no such threat in the movement of the 80s?

**G. Pavlovsky:** Loneliness is the first symptom of weak social relations, a sign of lack of knowledge about others and of confidence in others. All this can be overcome through joint activities. To date there is not enough of such activities. But the majority of the clubs are the same age as perestroika, they are young, they have both prospects and goals. Projects were put forward at the meeting and met with understanding, for they were based not on personal but social interest: to build a monument to victims of repression, to organize assistance groups helping socially weak people, and to put forward an assistance programme—of practical guardianship over invalids and senior citizens.

**We all feel that perestroika drastically needs leaders. Do you think that civil and political leaders, capable of taking the settlement of the gravest problems upon themselves, can develop amidst the public movement?**

**Yu. Lyubtsev:** These associations (and this was loudly voiced at the meeting) have a common idea—to take part in the transformation of society. It is hard to forecast who of today's young leaders will become a state or a political leader. Much depends on them, on their ability to shoulder responsibility, to be not just leaders but people responsible for others, for the end result, and the ability to see more than one move ahead. Their energy and persistence encourage optimism rather than pessimism regarding the future.

**I'd like to finalize a point. It depends on them, but on us too. For many years, we criticized our young men, comparing them to those who commanded regiments when they were the same age. We criticized them, but we didn't give them the regiments. And then they come up before us as divisional commanders. One can see this as a dangerous calamity or, as has already been said here, as a school of social experience, a school of active civic responsibility. Isn't that so?**

**Yu. Lyubtsev:** What do I think about this? I was amazed and happy at the dynamism with which the young people protect their ideas. This was no lesson memorized by heart. To be frank, I haven't seen such keen interest at every Komsomol meeting. From this point of view, many of these people are potentially able to provide new concepts and new ideas for society. Let this school be a school of practical deeds rather than of scandal. This

school is not for young people alone—it is a school for all of us. Because the meeting-dialogue showed that a few of us can lead discussion in a new way, find new arguments and convince.

**The round table was conducted by Gennady ZHAVO-RONKOV**

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**AIDS Research Laboratory Opened in Alma-Ata**  
*18320402b Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 25 Aug 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 25 August 1987 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by Doctor of Medical Science Y. Shuratov, published under the rubric "Doctor's Advice," entitled "What Kind of a Disease is AIDS?" The article provides details on the history of the disease, its symptoms, and ways to prevent its spread (including "moral purity"). An AIDS Research laboratory was recently opened in Alma-Ata.

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**Azeri Journalists Lack Foreign Language Proficiency**  
*18310401a Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri 3 Jul 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 3 July 1987 carries on page 4 an 1100-word article by Hamid Aliyev, director of the Foreign Language Department of the Nakhchivan Advanced Teachers Training Institute, headlined "School Reform and Foreign Language Instruction." Making the point that most foreign language textbooks used in the schools "are not that different from those of 10 and 20 years ago" he suggests that they should all be revised. He also mentions that "everyone knows that very few of our journalists know a foreign language well enough to converse with foreign guests who come to Baku" and adds that "even among our editors there are very few who know a foreign language." The result is that foreign names appearing in the press are often garbled. He suggests that future journalists concentrate on foreign languages in secondary school.

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**Kazakhs Complain of Exclusion, Discrimination**  
*18320402a Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN KOMMUNISI in Kazakh No 7, Jul 87 pp 71-87*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN KOMMUNISI in Kazakh No 7, July 1987 carries on pages 71-87 an 8,500-word symposium, published under the rubric "Serious Content for Internationalist Education," entitled "Problems of Ethnic Processes in an Era of Restructuring." Participants in the symposium included B.

Tolepbayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences; A. Qoshanov, doctor of economic science, corresponding member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences; A. Nysanbayev, doctor of philosophy and KaSSR State Prize Laureate; doctors of philosophy T. Sarsenbayev and Q. Shulenbayev; doctors of historical science D. Dulatova, S. Zhaqypbekov and S. Dorzhenov; candidates in philosophy B. Baylyarova and R. Absattarov; and candidate in historical science V. Strenskiy. Responding to comments about the importance of the work collective in promoting internationalism, A. Qoshanov complains of low participation by Kazakhs in the republic industrial labor force (18 percent of the republic industrial labor force is Kazakh) with particularly low figures (5 percent in Kustanay Oblast, 9 percent in Karaganda Oblast), in some parts of the republic. Also subjects of complaint (by Zhaqypbekov) are discrimination by enterprise managers against Kazakhs in the areas of housing distribution, assignment of material and spiritual incentives and in evaluating the results of socialist competition, and failure by educational authorities to provide space for cultural expression by Kazakh children in republic schools (R. Absattarov). It is repeatedly emphasized in the discussion that ethnic relations are in continual change and that internationalist education must change in response.

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**Problems of Divorce in Kazakhstan Examined**  
*18320402c Alma-Ata BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK in Kazakh No 6, Jun 87 pp 14-15*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK in Kazakh No 6, June 1987 carries on pages 14-15 a 1,500-word article by Azimbay Ghaliyev, demographer-historian of the Alma-Ata People's Economy Institute, entitled "The Motherland Begins With the Family." Ghaliyev's article looks at the growing problem of divorce in the USSR as a whole, which had 9.6 marriages and 3.4 divorces per 1000 persons in 1984, and in the KaSSR, where the problem is a source of many social problems, unhappiness and illness (Ghaliyev notes the higher incidence of illness among divorced persons). According to the results of a 1985 survey quoted by Ghaliyev, 621 of every 1000 Kazakh men aged 16 and above were married, 339 were never married, 22 were widowers and 14 were divorced. Of every 1000 Kazakh women aged 16 and above, 563 were married, 265 were never married, 143 were widows, and 28 divorced. An average of 21 persons per 1000 Kazakhs had remarried after a divorce. Also according to Ghaliyev, there were 1,040,000 Kazakh families enumerated during the 1979 Soviet Census, with 860,000 of them living in the KaSSR (there were a total of 70 million families of all nationalities in the Soviet Union). The average urban family size was then 3-5 members and average rural family size 4-7 members. In 1979, 316,000 of all Kazakh families lived in cities and 724,000 in rural areas.

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**Improvements Demanded in Uzbek Military, Patriotic Education**

*18360404 Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 2 Jun 87 p 1*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 2 June 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,700-word lead editorial entitled "Military-Patriotic Education Must Be Increased" which states that military-patriotic education possesses extreme significance under present conditions in which the socialist and bourgeois ideologies confront one another. The editorial expresses alarm that violations of the law by teenagers are not declining, and that numerous young people are subject to philistinism, materialism, and religious influences, crave items of Western culture, and have a passive attitude toward social life. Today, it is extremely important to strengthen the spiritual foundations and socialist ethics of teenagers. Basic military training in the schools plays a very important role in this process. Presently, equipped military offices exist in all secondary schools, and firing ranges in nearly 4,000 of them. One-eighth of the students in trade and vocational schools have completed basic military training courses. The editorial points out that the training of young men for service in the Armed Forces has still not been restructured. The majority of military leaders in secondary, trade, and vocational schools are very weak in professional and methodological military training. Nearly one-third of the military leaders in secondary and public education schools are reserve soldiers and sergeants. Other problems include the neglect of this work by school directors, the lack of military offices and arsenals at a number of trade and vocational schools, and the lack of attention to this work by educational department specialists on basic military training. The editorial notes that much has been said about the poor knowledge of Russian among inductees, particularly those from rural areas. It urges the dissemination of the method of Kuva Rayon schools where every Russian language teacher works closely with three or four upperclass students who will be inducted. It points out that DOSAAF organizations, automobile schools and clubs can play an important role in training drivers, parachutists, mechanics, radio operators, and other needed specialists for military service. Writers and artists and the mass media must not ignore problems of military-patriotic education. The editorial concludes that army commanders can train soldiers physically and technically, but their ideological and spiritual education is a community task.

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**Public Urged to Help Police Fight Drugs in Uzbekistan**

*18360404c Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 24 Jun 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 24 June 1987 carries on page 4 a 400-word article by UzTAG correspondent G. Ogorodov entitled

"All Must Act Together" in which he reports that in May of this year Nikolay Semchenko, a taxi driver in Gulistan City, was knifed and died a few hours later in the hospital. His murderer was a person named Iskandar N., who had served time previously for the same act and who committed the assault while high on hashish (nasha). Ogorodov points out that internal affairs organs in Syrdarya Oblast have been taking action to combat drugs. They can identify drug addicts and dealers, but lack sufficient manpower to fully eliminate this problem. In several rayons of the oblast poppies (koknar) are grown secretly. However, growers frequently ignore the warnings of police. Most owners of the over 40 plots sown in poppies in these rayons simply deny their responsibility, and those arrested are merely fined. People like Yu. Yusupov, teacher at a study-production combine, and sovkhos worker M. Kolboyev, continue to grow and sell poppies. Ogorodov states that the police must not stand alone in the fight against drugs. Court organs, farm leaders, and the public must pay greater attention and take a more activist stance toward this problem, which can lead to such tragic consequences as the death of a young taxi driver.

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**Helicopter Used to Locate Uzbek Poppy Fields**

*18360404d Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 25 Jun 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 25 June 1987 carries on page 4 a 600-word article by correspondent A. Khalilov entitled "Their Secret Was Exposed" in which he describes a special operation conducted by members of the Surkhandarya Oblast Internal Affairs Administration's Criminal Investigation Department and the Altinsay Rayon Internal Affairs Department. Acting on information that a group of unemployed people were growing poppies (koknar) in mountainous ravines on Sotsializm and Denau Sovkhoz in Altinsay Rayon, Militia Majors A. Saidov and S. Norboyev led a team on a helicopter reconnaissance of the sovkhoses. Although they were able to spot the poppy fields, they could not see anyone tending them. On a return sweep they saw one man in a poppy field along a stream. Norboyev jumped out of the helicopter at two meters and apprehended 21-year old Nuriddin Yoldoshev, who claimed he did not know to whom the field belonged. Police searched a nearby home and found 300 poppy heads (the ripened fruit) belonging to a person named Ziyorat Hayitov. In the home of 18-year old Polat Karimov in the village of Lukka, police found 80 kilograms of poppies and 87 grams of opium (qoradori). His father Khudoyberdi Karimov regularly used the poppy extract (koknar). Police searches also revealed that Chori Azizov of Sotsializm Sovkhoz grew and sold poppies, Kholmira Qurbonov was in possession of opium, and Rozi Khojayev was in possession of two vaseline jars of opium, a half kilogram of poppy extract, and several poppy heads. All of these narcotics and poppy fields were destroyed.



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### **All-Union Conference on Improving Practice of Sociology Held**

*Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 16, Aug 87 (signed to press 11 Aug 87) pp 42-46*

[Report by A. Sapsay: "Sociological Research in the Practice of Party Committees: From an All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference"]

[Text]Tbilisi—The All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference, "Improving the Practice of Sociological Research and Raising the Effectiveness of the Use of Its Results Under Conditions of Restructuring," was held in Tbilisi. Its more than 350 participants included sociologists, philosophers, economists, legal specialists and party officials.

The conference was organized by the Georgian CP Central Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Research, and the Soviet Sociological Association. They took care to establish a creative atmosphere. Scholars and practitioners conducted an engaged discussion about important current problems in the development of sociological research and ways to use this research in the practice of party work and in the development and adoption of decisions.

### **The Problems of Cooperation: Minuses and Pluses**

Under conditions of the increased democratization of Soviet society, the network of party committees' existing special research groups, laboratories, centers, and councils and institutes for the study of public opinion is noticeably expanding. At present there are more than 500 sociological scientific advisory agencies attached to party committees at various levels; they enlist scholars from higher schools and research institutes in their work. Party committees' close cooperation with sociologists and creative use of their achievements and scientific recommendations in practical activities are one mark of the restructuring of party work and of all social life.

However, for a long time sociologists' research was insufficiently appreciated in the practice of guiding the economy and in ideological and party organizational work. It is no secret, I. Sokolov, deputy chief of the propaganda department of the Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom in Leningrad, noted in his presentation, that the data from public-opinion surveys frequently served merely to "adorn" a given report by a party or economic executive. As a result, tremendous bodies of scientific information remained practically unused. Frequently it was simply "shelved," so to speak. Research results and conclusions that had required substantial effort and money failed to be conveyed not only to the masses at large but even to the staff members of party committee apparatuses and to the Communists in organizations in which the research had been carried out.

This situation, in which the significance of sociology was artificially understated and research results were simply not needed, the conference participants noted, became a reflection of the stagnant phenomena existing in society. The situation that existed in sociology itself played no small role in this. Among sociologists, noted Candidate of Psychological Sciences N. Betaneli, docent at the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, there were frequent cases of servility, lack of principle, and desire to "please" the bosses and pass off wishes for reality. Research was frequently trivial in nature and failed to disclose the underlying processes taking place in society and in labor collectives.

The report by Professor V. Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Research, talked about the fact that the theory and practice of sociological research still lag behind the requirements of society, the professional level of researchers is low, and descriptiveness and the oversimplified interpretation of the issues of social development and public opinion are widespread. In order to perform its role in the country's spiritual life, sociology must now identify new trends and problems in social development in time and react sensitively to them. In other words, it must know how to figure out how much is new and, in the words of V. I. Lenin, genuinely communist.

The presentations by conference participants, including the report by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Komarovskiy, head of the department of ideological work at the Academy of Social Sciences' Research Institute, stressed that raising the productiveness of sociological research for practical party work and the recording and utilization of specific proposals by the working people are an important task. The results of a representative scientific survey, he noted, indicate that at present party officials need public-opinion research, for example, primarily for the purpose of knowing the actual state of public opinion, problem areas in ideological upbringing work with people, and the reasons for the widespread nature of negative phenomena.

Specific recommendations, the speakers said, can be worked out, as well as implemented, only through the joint efforts of researchers and practitioners. It is necessary to enhance the coordination of the work of the public-opinion services that operate under party committees and to significantly strengthen cooperation between party committees and sociological research institutions.

The question of training sociological personnel concerned with the problems of party work was given serious attention at the conference. In particular, it was suggested that provision be made on the staffs of party committee apparatuses for people directly connected with conducting sociological research. Such a proposal was made, for example, by Ye. Bezrukov, secretary of the Tsentralny CPSU Raykom in Tyumen. The raykom

stands only to gain from such a measure: the apparatus would be provided with the most essential information about the state of public opinion and could plan and conduct research in a professional manner.

The problem of personnel was also raised in the presentation of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Korobeynikov, deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research's Center for the Study of Public Opinion. He stated that data obtained as a result of a survey of about 1,000 party officials and party committee activists in Voronezh Oblast confirmed that they had had no training in using the methods and results of sociological research.

It was noted in this connection that raising the sociological sophistication of personnel is becoming an urgent task for the system of the training and advanced training of personnel. The more active enlistment of staff members of party committee apparatuses in conducting sociological research could yield significant benefits. The training of sociologists in the theory and practice of party construction and the forms and methods of party guidance of social processes is becoming an equally important task.

Higher party schools are called on to provide great help here. At present the students of higher party schools are already given a number of special courses in the use of sociological research in party work and in the management of social processes in the labor collective. However, experience shows that today this is no longer enough. Party committees need specialists with professional experience in conducting research and the professional ability to resolve questions on a broad democratic basis, relying on the opinion of the agencies of socialist self-management and the opinion of the working public.

It was stated at the conference that party committees should make more active use of their publications to publicize sociological knowledge and publish data on public-opinion studies. Today such information is becoming an important form of the ideological upbringing of the public, helps shape a correct and healthy public opinion, and substantially increases the extent to which the working people are informed about the consideration of their proposals and criticisms expressed in the course of surveys.

The reports by conference participants stated that a well-organized system of sociological institutions has not yet been established, and these institutions' subdivisions lack a unified research methods center. This frequently affects the quality of research and the extent to which it is oriented toward obtaining concrete results and being introduced into everyday practice. At the same time, it was noted that an active search is under way for the most rational forms of integrating science and practice, and an important role here belongs to the study and publicizing of proven successful practices of sociological services.

### **Make Wider Use of and Disseminate Proven Successful Practices**

Conference participants shared their experience in using the results of sociological surveys in the practice of party organizational and ideological work. Thus, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. Bokarev, professor at the Moscow Higher Party School, told about research conducted by instructors and students of the Higher Party School in the capital's Pervomayskiy Rayon. Devoted to an analysis of primary party organizations' experience in implementing the provisions of the Party Statutes adopted at the 27th Congress, it was conducted at the assignment of the Moscow City CPSU Committee at 15 industrial and construction enterprises and in research and other institutions. The atmosphere of openness and glasnost in which the survey was conducted was fostered to no small extent by the fact, for example, that the secretaries of the rayon's primary party organizations were informed in advance of the study's objectives and acquainted with the methods that would be used to conduct it. To this end they were invited on the eve of the survey to a conference in the raykom together with the sociologists participating in the study. The results were reported first of all to practically all communists (more than 1,000 people) who had taken part in the survey—workers and engineering and technical and scientific personnel. Thanks to this, measures for eliminating the shortcomings that had been identified were worked out and sociologists' conclusions and recommendations taken into account in the party organizations even before examination of the issue in the secretariat of the Moscow City Party Committee.

L. Rumyantseva, an instructor in the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Dushanbe Gorkom of the Tajik Communist Party, noted in her presentation that rayon scientific and practical conferences were held on the basis of the results of a sociological study of the role of the human factor in present-day production that was conducted by the Dushanbe Gorkom together with the Tajik Division of the Soviet Sociological Association. The secretaries of the party committees and executives of enterprises took part in discussing the research results and scientists' recommendations and contributed important additions and corrections. A decision on the matter was adopted taking into account the discussions and the criticisms and proposals expressed in them.

Improving cooperation between party committees and sociological services was also the topic of the presentation by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. Sillaste, secretary of the section for sociological research and the study of public opinion of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's Ideological Commission. At the present time, public opinion sections have been set up under 12 party gorkoms and raykoms in the republic. The subject matter of the problems they study has been substantially expanded. Many such problems stem directly from the requirements of party practice: on the basis of research results, questions are prepared for the

bureaus and secretariats of the Central Committee and the gorkoms and raykoms. The data from public opinion surveys serve as a basis for the adoption of decisions and drafting of plans of measures that are used as a basis for conducting specific practical work at the local level. For example, on the basis of proposals expressed by the working people in the course of a study concerning the problems of internationalist upbringing in labor collectives, measures were taken to improve the study of Russian and Estonian in children's preschool institutions. Important conclusions were also drawn by party agencies on the basis of the results of such surveys as "Glasnost in the Collective," "The 27th CPSU Congress: the Collective and Restructuring," and "Young People's Opinion on Measures to Combat Drunkenness."

The study and utilization of the collective's public opinion, said N. Volodkin, secretary of the party committee of the Belorussian Republic Research and Production Association of Powder Metallurgy, permits the party organization to have a real influence on the resolution of production and personnel questions and contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of glasnost and public oversight. Questionnaire surveys conducted by the association's party committee and sociological service, say, in the course of preparing for party meetings and reports by Communist executives on their performance of their party and official duties have become traditional in the collective. The collective's opinion also finds reflection in approved personnel reports on executives, the party committee's work plans, and the decisions of party meetings. Adjustments have been made in personnel policy in production, and a new structure has been worked out for the research and production association taking into account the results of surveys of the working people.

The participants showed great interest in the experience of Georgia's party organization, which starting in 1975 had a Council and since 1981 has had a Center for the Study, Shaping and Predicting of Public Opinion under the republic Communist Party Central Committee. G. Yenukidze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, told about its work under conditions of restructuring. He noted that at the present time the Center has to all intents and purposes become a scientific advisory agency that regularly presents the results of sociological studies together with scientifically substantiated recommendations to the bureau, secretariat and departments of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. In order to strengthen its research and physical facilities, a department for the study of public opinion that includes four research laboratories has been specially set up under the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences. In addition, the Center's sociologists rely in their work on the republic's research institutes and higher schools.

The Center's ongoing work is guided by its presidium, which includes advanced workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, people in the arts, and party and soviet officials. The planning of its work is based on instructions

from the Central Committee bureau and secretariat, taking into account its departments' statements of requirements and the proposals of the Center's presidium, and this planning is also done in accordance with the working people's wishes. Special attention is devoted to the collecting of objective and reliable information that paints a realistic picture of social life. Therefore, the subject-matter plans for the Center's work provide for conducting research on problems that party agencies' efforts are directed at solving. In turn, the results of studies conducted are reflected in the documents of the bureau, secretariat and plenums of the Communist Party Central Committee and various republic aktivs.

This form of party guidance of wide-scale sociological research, the speaker noted, makes it possible, on the one hand, to enlist sociologists in accomplishing the most important current tasks and to involve them directly in the thick of practical affairs. On the other hand, it makes it possible to regularly provide party committees and the republic leadership with comprehensive information, for example, on the parameters of the prevalence of a given social phenomenon and on the underlying causes of processes that are taking place.

The Center's research, moreover, helps enhance the scientific substantiation of decisions that are made and is becoming an important means of activating the republic's public opinion in the interests of its socioeconomic and spiritual renewal. In this connection consideration is not only given to the positive opinion of people who are practically prepared and guarantee their participation in implementing the party's decisions. Sociologists also actively take into account negative opinion that alerts party agencies, say, to the passivity or negative attitude of some people toward important political, economic and ideological actions.

At the present, the speaker stated, not a single important decision adopted by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is implemented without being studied beforehand and receiving a kind of approbation of public opinion. In turn, the need for precise social diagnosis places on the agenda the conducting of up-to-date surveys necessitated by new facts and phenomena in social and cultural life.

Take, as just one example, the conducting of an express survey of the public in connection with the showing of the film "Pokayaniye" [Repentance]. The study, which was conducted on the days the film was premiering in three Tbilisi movie theaters, helped the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee not just to study but to forecast the attitude of various social groups of the population toward the problems raised in the film.

The study results, with appropriate recommendations, were distributed to all ideological institutions for the purpose of shaping public opinion and focusing it on the

solution of current problems and on combating bureaucracy, formalism and social indifference. The conclusions and recommendations of Center associates have also found active use in the work of republic and central mass information and propaganda media. On the basis of data obtained by sociologists in the course of surveying the public and identifying the factors hampering restructuring, this January the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decree on the provision of ideological support for the struggle against bureaucracy and formalism in the management apparatus.

The republic's sociologists have also conducted research in connection with the shifting of enterprises to the state acceptance of output, research which identified the basic causes impeding the timely preparation of collectives for the introduction of state acceptance. With the help of the study of public opinion, thousands of working people were enlisted in the process of production self-management and the adoption and drafting of state decisions.

Significant attention is given in the republic to the study of such problems as drug abuse, drunkenness and alcoholism, prostitution and others. Studies of public opinion are regularly conducted on the state of legal propaganda, the work of law-enforcement agencies, and other matters.

The Center's sociologists are actively studying such a reliable channel for the development of direct democracy as working people's letters. The analysis of letters received by the Communist Party Central Committee; other party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and administrative agencies; and the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines makes it possible not only to find out public opinion regarding certain problems, but also to respond promptly to the masses' needs and moods.

Conference participants learned with interest about the work of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion. This was helped by a tour, during which Center associates shared their experience in conducting research and told about their plans for the future.

The conference showed that sociological research is actively entering into the practice of party work. Taking the study of public opinion into account in the adoption of decisions is becoming an important condition of restructuring.

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**Kazakh Scientist on Aral Problem**

*18320403a Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 5 Aug 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 5 August 1987 carries on page 4 a 2,200-word interview with Zhurimbek Sydyqov, corresponding member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Academy of Sciences Presidium Commission on the Complex Use of Land and Water Resources of the Aral and Lake Balkhash Basins, deputy director of the KaSSR Hydrogeological and Geophysical Institute. The interview, published under the rubric "The Fate of the Aral—The Fate of Man," is entitled "If We Rely on Scientific Fact" and was recorded by Ye. Smayylov. In the interview, Sydyqov is asked questions about the history of the Aral problem, whether or not the use of the Syr Darya and Amu-Darya for economic purposes necessarily means harm to the environment, the illusion of restoring the Aral to what it once was, various plans which have been proposed to halt further deterioration, the problem of immediate environmental dangers which must be lived with now, the realism or lack of realism in proposed solutions, the dangers inherent in leaving residents in place along the shores of the Aral and other vital issues connected with the retreat of the sea. In his answer to the first question, on the background of the problem, Sydyqov makes very clear that the debate over the use of river water supporting the Aral is an old one and in fact dates back to the 19th century when two views emerged. One saw the waters feeding into the Aral as essentially wasted and called for an irrigation build-up, while the other warned of possible environmental consequences if such a build-up were to take place. Sydyqov, however, backs off from the view that any use of Syr Darya and Amu-Darya waters is a formula for disaster and takes the position that development of cotton and rice is in fact important, and that such development could have taken place without harming the sea if scientific fact had been paid attention to adequately. He notes that if the water wasted in recent years, or misappropriated, had been fed into the Aral, current problems would not be nearly as severe as they are. Turning to the problem itself and proposed solutions, both the reporter and Sydyqov make clear that there can be no question of restoring the Aral, just of halting further deterioration. (Even if all Syr Darya and Amu-Darya water is made available it will still not be enough to restore the Aral, not even enough to prevent further short term deterioration.) However, Sydyqov asserts, if plans for water use are adhered to strictly, and if meaningful actions are forthcoming at the national level (including creating a multirepublic water authority,) some 20 billion cubic meters of water needed to preserve at least a divided Aral can be found. However, both Sydyqov and his interviewer seem concerned about the ability of both the republic and of USSR authorities to achieve needed degrees of conservation and control. Sydyqov also makes clear that much more than words will be necessary but concedes that real measures have been lacking to date. On the immediate environmental

problems and health hazards, Sydyqov does acknowledge that something must be done to begin the work of environmental reconstruction, even before the sea "is saved." He also calls for improved public health in the Aral region to prevent the need for a mass evacuation from arising.

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**Poor Regional Water Management Damaging Lake Balkhash**

*18320403b Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh 7 Aug 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 7 August 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,000-word article by A. Shustov, candidate in biological science, and V. Tashenov, junior research worker, entitled "You Are Creating Problems for the Survival of Lake Balkhash." The article analyzes the circumstances causing the retreat of Lake Balkhash in some places and a decline in its level. According to Shustov and Tashenov, water flow to Lake Balkhash has been reduced—and thus the survival of the lake threatened—by a combination of circumstances reflecting general regional mismanagement and cross-purpose competition between too many controlling agencies. Basically development of the Kapshagay Reservoir—developed to respond to energy rather than ecological needs—and its hydroelectrical plant has gone hand-in-hand with more or less unplanned irrigation. As a result the lake is retreating, due to the interruption of Ile River flow by the reservoir, while the reservoir itself cannot accumulate enough water for efficient power generation (it is now at only 25 percent capacity) due to competition with irrigators for the same Ile water. The outcome is that neither irrigation nor power generation is truly efficient while the lake itself is not only falling but its fisheries (needed all the more to compensate for the end of Aral fishing) are in difficulty. The authors end by calling for a real understanding of the problem—and less defending of turf by research organizations studying the problem—and real solutions. Creation of a single regional water authority is implied as an important step forward.

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**Uzbek Environmentalist on Industrial Pollution**

*18360405a Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 5 Jun 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 5 June 1987 carries on page 3 a 900-word article by N. Aksarin, chief of the republic Administration for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Protection, entitled "An Important and Urgent Task" in which he discusses industrial pollution in conjunction with World Environmental Protection Day. He states that presently there are special monitoring stations in 17 cities and mobile laboratories are monitoring conditions in six other cities of the republic. Every plan of newly

constructed or reconstructed establishments must pass inspection by ecological experts, and enterprises are required to specify the amounts of toxic substances they release into the atmosphere. Nonetheless, the pollution level in several republic cities, particularly those where industry is concentrated, exceeds safe amounts. The basic sources of pollution are enterprises of the construction industry, metallurgy, and mineral fertilizer production. Especially offensive are the Bekabad Metallurgical Plant, Angren GRES, Fergana TETS, the Navoi and Kuvasay Cement Combines, the Tashkent Keramzit Plant, and the Azot and Navoiazot Production Unions. Enterprises of the Ministries of the Gas Industry and Power and Electrification, along with the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine and the Mubarak Gas Refinery, worsen ecological conditions in their regions by the release of excessive amounts of sulphide gases. Leaders of many enterprises fail to acknowledge these problems or to take steps to install purification devices. Aksarin states that major contributors to air pollution in large cities are industrial wastes and automobile emissions. Vehicles are known to emit nearly 200 kinds of toxic substances. While the operation of monitoring stations at a number of large transport enterprises has helped reduce pollution, a great deal of work remains to be done to reduce the volume of harmful emissions. He also notes that many plant directors do not act on recommendations made by environmental supervision organs.

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**Report on Tupalang Reservoir Construction**  
*18360405b Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek*  
*10 Jun 87 p 2*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 10 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 100-word item from UzTAG entitled "At the Tupalang Reservoir Construction" which reports that construction of the reservoir is being accelerated in order to meet the completion date of 1992. This year some 200 million cubic meters of water will be collected. When fully commissioned, the reservoir will hold 500 million cubic meters of water and meet the irrigation needs of the Danau, Shurchi, and Saryasya Rayons of Surkhandarya Oblast.

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**Water Pollution Increasing in Uzbekistan, Factory Warned**

*18300010b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian*  
*6 Sep 87 p 3*

[Article by TASS correspondents Ye. Yefimov and A. Urvantsev, special to SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "Downstream: Fundamental Measures Are Needed to Stop the Pollution of Water Sources in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR—The final deadline has been set for the Kokand Superphosphate Plant—by 1 January 1988 it must once and for all completely stop discharging polluted water. Otherwise it will be closed.

It is a harsh measure. After all, what is in question is the fate of a collective, deliveries of mineral fertilizers to agriculture, and a thousand other circumstances that cannot be disregarded. But if the benefit produced by the plant is placed on one side of the scales and the harm it causes on the other, the one will hardly outweigh the other. Moreover, there are things that are simply hard to compare. And there are no benefits that can justify the damage caused to people's health and to nature.

The plant draws crystal-pure water from artesian wells under the ground. And what does it return to the earth? It takes a certain amount of courage to drink a handful of liquid from the drainage canal known as the Gyskhhan. It's not water but filth, like something that has just been washed off truck wheels. Moreover, that is the most innocent component of the mixture. Acids and metals are present in it in concentrations that exceed the maximum permissible limits tens of times over. There have also been "one-shot" discharges. A murky flow headed for the Syr Darya, and the river carried the poison further downstream. Who should bear responsibility for that ecological crime?

The basin water-protection inspectorate filed suit against the plant this spring for 198,743 rubles. Let's suppose that that is exactly the monetary equivalent of the ruined Syr Darya waters. But what will that sum correct or compensate for? Moreover, it too is paid out of the state's pocket. And what about anybody's own pocket? It turns out that a guilty party can be fined 100 rubles and deprived of bonuses. But some executives would be glad to install pollution-abatement facilities, yet their ministry or department will not allocate the necessary money to do so.

Here are excerpts from a document of the water-resources-protection inspectorate: "Over the entire period of the plant's existence it has been a major polluter of open bodies of water. In comparison to previous years, the composition of effluent has deteriorated. The enterprise's executives have gone for decades without resolving questions connected with the treatment of polluted effluent.

In short, the enterprise had gotten used to fines, when like a bolt of lightning on a clear day came the decree: halt the plant's production activity. What was under consideration was stopping it as early as this summer. That extreme measure, proposed by the service for the protection of water resources, was upheld by standing committees of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. It was then that people "started stirring." At all levels—right up to the union Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production.

A technical conference was urgently held in Kokand. We saw its minutes. It turned out that the enterprise could operate without polluting the environment. All that was required to do so was to substitute one type of raw material—sodium chloride (table salt) with another that is no less readily available—sodium sulfate. And to

install filters and settling tanks. And to maintain order throughout the entire technological cycle—from the unloading of raw materials to the loading of the finished products.

For its part, the union ministry promised to establish order at the enterprise by next summer. The inspectors verified that the promises were realistic. By and large, the equipment did not need to be changed, and the USSR State Planning Committee gave its consent to change the raw material. And the designers promised not to hold up the documentation.

But if everything is working out, why is reconstruction of the plant being dragged out for a whole year? After all, every day it operates it causes damage to the Syr Darya. The inspectorate set a counter condition: complete the reconstruction by 1 January of next year. In all fairness, it must be said that the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production gave its consent to that.

Several words must be said about the place and role of those entrusted with the difficult watch on the shore of lakes, rivers, canals and drainage flows. Inspectors must possess not just knowledge of their business but a certain courage—after all, there are still a good many “apamane princes” who care nothing whatsoever about what happens “downstream.” And sometimes it is difficult to inculcate, if not love for nature, at least respect for the law in such an executive. In former years the inspector often lost in combat with a negligent economic manager. Now the water-protection service feels itself not just a monitor but a full-fledged partner of the enterprise that is a water user.

That is why the situation that came to exist at the Kokand plant is instructive not just for the principled stand of the water-protection service but for its constructive role. In and of themselves, fines, reprimands and trials do not solve problems; ecological upbringing is required.

Here is the end of our story. Alongside the superphosphate plant, yet another sprang up—the Novokokandskiy. It compensates for the loss of superphosphate with ammonium phosphate. And the old plant was supposed to cease existing—at least as a chemical producer. It was decided to set up repair and maintenance facilities for the region’s chemical industry in its buildings. At one time the ministry itself set a “final deadline” for the veteran, even before that set by the water-protection inspectorate. Subsequently it turned out that that was just a trick to avoid “excess expenditures”—was there any need to spend money on water treatment, it was said, since production was to be halted anyway?

But the halting of production kept being put off—many farms in Central Asia expressed the desire to obtain both ammonium phosphate and superphosphate.

Nonetheless, despite all the needs and arguments, the water-protection agencies remain adamant in their decision. The enterprise and the branch must invest millions of rubles in environmental protection. That will also be the beginning of the plant’s reconstruction.

### A Specialist’s Opinion:

A spring and life are almost synonymous. Now half of humanity already lacks sufficient drinking water. It makes up only a tiny share of the planet’s total water volume. How precious every drop of it is. But how do things stand with regard to water protection as a whole in Uzbekistan? We asked that question of F. F. Kostin, director of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources’ Main Administration for Water Protection:

“Uzbekistan’s priceless wealth is its underground waters,” he said. “But how barbarically—and there’s no other way to put it—certain economic managers sometimes treat them. Judge for yourself. Now the republic has 136 storage basins for effluent and waste from agricultural and industrial enterprises. Of these, 91 storage basins lack so-called protective screens. They are simply ordinary earthen pits dug by bulldozer. Effluent from them penetrates to lower water levels and pollutes the purest water. 81 of the total number of storage basins belong to the republic State Agroindustrial Committee. At a regular meeting of the Commission for Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, it was noted that the discharge of polluted effluent in Uzbekistan as a whole has not just failed to be reduced but has even risen over the past three years by a factor of 1.4.

“Artesian water, which flows from beneath the earth through wells for economic needs and drinking water, is used extremely inefficiently and uneconomically. Let me cite the following facts: At present 4,630 naturally flowing wells have been identified in the republic. Most of them are not equipped with valves, and drinking water streams from them onto the ground 24 hours a day. Of these unequipped wells, 1,800 belong to the State Agroindustrial Committee.

“People in the republic frequently complain of the water shortage. But how is one to evaluate the following fact: closed-cycle water supply and water-recycling systems constitute only 45 percent of water use there, although they have reached 71 percent for the country as a whole.

“Animal husbandry complexes, livestock sections and bast-fiber plants, most of which have no treatment facilities, represent a great danger of environmental pollution, especially water pollution, in Uzbekistan. Moreover, the basins of the Syr Darya, Amu Darya and Zhetysay rivers continue to be polluted by effluent from the Navoi State Regional Power Station of the

USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Elektrokhimprom Production Association, and the Bekabad Metallurgical Plant. And this is what it leads to: in such rivers as the Zeravshan and the Chirchik, the content of sulfides is five to seven times as high as the norm, and the magnesium content is three to four times the norm. The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production's Chirchik Elektrokhimprom Association alone discharges about 230 million cubic meters of polluted effluent into the Chirchik River.

"For such ecological crimes, last year alone in Uzbekistan more than 3,000 officials and individual citizens were fined, 300 executives of farms and enterprises were deprived of bonuses, and production activities were halted at more than 90 different shops and enterprises. Nonetheless, sanctions alone, no matter how harsh they may be, will not solve the problem.

"The protection of water and its rational utilization," said V. Kostin in conclusion, "is not just the concern of the land-reclamation workers and inspectors of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. The executives of the ministries and departments whose enterprises operate on the land should bear personal responsibility for the fate of every small stream and large river."

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### **Problems of Aral Sea Desiccation Widely Discussed**

#### **Uzbek Academy of Sciences Reports**

18360404 *Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 5 Jun 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 5 June 1987 carries on page 3 a 300-word item entitled "Response of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences to Letters from Readers" which provides information about the current status of the Aral Sea and scientific research on this problem. Presently, the dried-up area of the sea extends from 15 to 60 kilometers. The lesser area is found on its western shore where, in fact, the sea has suddenly grown deeper. The larger area is found on its southern and southeastern shores. The eastern and northern dried up areas are the source of five or six great dust and salt storms a year. According to a 1985 study, the Aral Sea occupies 2.3 million hectares. The item states that at a seminar held in Nukus in June 1985 it was proposed to expand research on the Aral Sea problem. Today, dozens of institutes are occupied with this issue. In October 1986, the Biology Department of the Academy of Sciences held a meeting to discuss these problems and made a series of recommendations to expand scientific research. Speakers at that meeting stressed that the Uzbek SSR Agroindustrial Committee, SANIIRI, Institute of Natural Sciences, and the Karakalpak Filial of the Academy of Sciences are paying insufficient attention to this problem.

#### **Soviet Writers Get Firsthand View**

18360404f *Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 5 Jun 87 p 1*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 5 June 1987 carries on page 1 a 700-word article by M. Hazratqulov entitled "On the Shores of the Amu" in which he reports that a group of participants in the Days of Multinational Literature in Uzbekistan were invited to Karakalpakstan to get a firsthand view of the Aral Sea problem. The group included Farmon Karimzoda (Azerbaijan), Kazbek Sultonov and Pavel Ulyashev (Moscow), Olga Ipatova (Minsk), Ramil Hakimov and Tayfur Sagitov (Ufa), Khuta Gagaa (Georgia), Tursun Zhurtboyev (Kazakhstan), and a group of republic writers headed by Writers Union chief Ulmas Umarbekov. They attended a meeting at the Karakalpak Obkom, where First Secretary M. Orolboyev also spoke on the gravity of the problem.

#### **Uzbek Official on Reclamation**

18360404f *Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 7 Jun 87 p 2*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 7 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,100-word article by P. Shutko, Uzbek SSR deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, entitled "Earth Healers" in which he discusses problems in land reclamation and water resources in conjunction with Ameliorators' Day. He states that workers in this sector have admitted their past errors which have led to deteriorating land conditions and declining cotton yields. Basically, their efforts were narrowed down to reclaiming new lands to the neglect of a comprehensive approach and tasks like supervising the condition of fields and draining underground water and salt. As a result, conditions deteriorated on over 540,000 hectares of irrigated land. All sector workers are alarmed by this situation and realize they face many tasks in improving land conditions. Shutko notes that the Uzbek CP Central Committee recently met to discuss this problem and demanded that a new approach be taken to resolving it. The ministry has produced a series of measures aimed at accelerating the introduction of new technology, efficiently utilizing water for irrigation, improving the quality of water resources construction, and fighting against water waste. Plans call for automating management systems for irrigation networks, including collection and distribution systems. The implementation of these measures will mean savings of nearly 5 billion cubic meters of water. During this 5-Year Plan, 26,000 kilometers of drainage pipes will be installed on 389,000 hectares. Presently, 1,280 kilometers of main canals, 9 reservoirs, 3 pump station cascades, and 25 hydroelectric stations operate with telemechanical equipment. Shutko states that workers in the sector are not the only ones responsible for the fertility of irrigated lands. Farmers must also make efficient use of water and employ modern agrotechniques. Water resources and agricultural workers must strictly observe regulations and demands for the efficient



use of land and water resources. In short, he concludes, yields will be higher if workers throughout the agroindustrial complex approach their tasks conscientiously and responsibly.

**Aral Committee Debates Proposals in Nukus**  
*18360404f Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 26 Jun 87 p 2*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 26 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,800-word newspaper interview with Orozboy Abdurahmonov, executive secretary of the Karakalpak journal AMUDARYA, entitled "The Sea Can Be Saved" in which he discusses a meeting of a government commission under the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control held in Nukus to discuss the possibility of saving the Aral Sea. Although there was no unanimity of opinion, the majority of the participants were in favor of trying to save the sea and prevent unwanted consequences. According to preliminary estimates, if the sea dries up completely the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezm Oblast will suffer 11 billion rubles in damages. Currently, sanitary conditions in this zone are deteriorating. Infant mortality rates have risen considerably in Karakalpakistan. The water is polluted with chemicals and bacteria, and the salt content of drinking water is four times the norm, causing an increase in the incidence of stomach cancer. Abdurahmonov stresses that millions of tons of salt are being lifted into the atmosphere each year and dumped around the Aral and also in Bukhara, Navoi, Samarkand, and other areas. Abdurahmonov discusses some of the proposals made at the meeting to prevent this situation from growing worse and to save the Aral. Agamurad Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, proposed that collector water be diverted from Takhiatash into the Amudarya, but others disagreed and said that this would only further complicate the situation for the Amudarya whose sanitary condition is worsening. I. Jorabekov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, recalled that there is a clear directive in party decisions not to divert runoff water into the Amudarya, yet Turkmen and Uzbek water resource organs do not comply with this directive. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources proposed that every 2 or 3 years the Amudarya and Syrdarya should be fully opened to the sea. P. Polatzoda, USSR first deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, stated at the meeting: "Saving the Aral would be a great waste. It would require 40-50 cubic kilometers of water to maintain the present level of the Aral. We do not have this water. The Karakum Canal is our pride! Will it survive without the sea? Impossible! We must get used to it! Ten cubic kilometers of water could be conserved from drainage pipes in the Amudarya and Syrdarya basin. But this would require 2.5 billion rubles. And even so, this water would not reach the Aral." The next day, after returning from the Aral and Muynak, Polatzoda repeated the thought, "We must get used to life without the sea. I am not against the sea.

Perhaps it is necessary to reduce rice cultivation." A. Kashtanov, vice-president of VASKhNIL, stated that the fate of the Aral and Amudarya is endangered: "We have not been sent to get the people along the Aral used to living in desert conditions, but to study the possibility of saving the Aral. P. Polatzoda is not content with this." Abdurahmonov summarizes the two basic points of view expressed at the meeting. First, most participants and public opinion support the idea of saving the Aral. Second, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and Turkmen specialists basically comprise the group who feel that there is no necessity to save the Aral. Abdurahmonov responds to a question of why those living around the Aral did not sound the alarm sooner by saying that Karakalpak writers were not silent. But writing about the Aral problem was suppressed for many years. Everything they wrote about the Aral remained unprinted. They appealed to the leaders of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, but they professed astonishment and said that nothing is ever suppressed. Now, it is difficult to find the guilty parties. Abdurahmonov reports that the meeting resulted in a proposal—not unanimously supported—that special left and right bank canals be built on both sides of the Amudarya to divert all collector, drainage, and lake water in the region into the Aral. However, participants knew that this would be a temporary measure and would not save the Aral from drying up eventually.

**Ecological Effects Noted Abroad**  
*18360404f Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 26 Jun 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 26 June 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word item entitled "Urgent Theme" which states that the bureau of the Save the Aral Committee of the Uzbek SSR Union of Writers held its regular meeting at which E. Yusupov, vice-president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, P. Shermuhamedov, chairman of the Save the Aral Committee, O. Alimov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, and others spoke about the Aral problem. The item quotes the following remark by Yusupov: "Recently I returned from India. The drying up of the Aral Sea alarms our friends abroad. At meetings held in numerous halls of learning they asked many questions about what is being done to save the Aral Sea. If the Aral Sea dries up it will have serious ecological effects on Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India."

**Committee to Receive Public Donations**  
*18360404f Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 30 Jun 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 June 1987 carries on page 4 a 500-word item from UzTAG entitled "Password: Aral Sea" which reports that an account has been opened in the Kuybishev Rayon Section of the Uzbek SSR State Bank for

funds donated to the Save the Aral Committee of the Uzbek SSR Union of Writers. Many people within and without the republic have expressed the desire to contribute funds to support the committee's efforts to save the Aral. Such people include writer Chingiz Aytmatov, cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhaniyev, and geneticist N.P. Dubinin. The committee's chairman said that the fund will not be used for carrying out plans aimed at replenishing the sea's water, but will be used to publicize the Aral problem, ensure that information about it is in the open, and disseminate opinions of the broad public. Committee chairman Pirmat Shermukhamedov said that the committee has examined press criticism of its work, reviewed its personnel, and defined its tasks more precisely. It formed workers' commissions and assigned them the task of studying conditions in the Chardara, Takhiatash, Tuyamuyin, Amu-Bukhara, Karshi, and Karakum Canals. The committee also established ties with the Commission on Aral Sea Problems under the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. He states that the committee will keep the public informed on a regular basis concerning all issues connected with the Aral Sea.

#### **Runoff Water Plan Discussed**

18360404f Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek  
20 Jun 87 p 3

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 20 June 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,100-word article by Professor Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy S. Mirzayev, chairman of the Department of Use and Conservation of Water Resources of the Tashkent Institute of Irrigation and Mechanized Agriculture Engineers, and other members of this institute, entitled "They Say Each Drop Is Gold" in which they address the issue of whether the decline in republic agricultural production really is due to the water shortage or to poor irrigation technology. They incline toward the latter view. They point out that approximately 1.5 billion cubic meters of water evaporates annually from the reservoirs on the Syrdarya River and its basin and 2 billion cubic meters from reservoirs on the Amudarya. The water that evaporates from irrigated fields amounts to an even greater volume. In Central Asia, 10 billion cubic meters of subsoil water rises and evaporates annually from over 3 million hectares of land. Such loss and waste of water resources lowers the coefficient of the productive use of land. The authors point out that a basic cause of the loss of irrigation and runoff water is the low technical quality of irrigation networks and equipment. To prevent water waste, it is necessary to increase the efficient use of irrigation networks. A second basic cause of water waste is the surfacing of subsoil water. When this water evaporates, it resalinates some 3.8 million hectares of land. It requires an average of 5,000 cubic meters of water annually to flush the salt from each hectare of land. They discuss the effects of subsoil water at various depths and conclude that steps must be taken to lower its level to 3 meters. Because alternative methods of irrigation will not replace furrow irrigation in the foreseeable future,

they feel that coping with the water problem will require economizing on water consumption for farming, lowering the level of subsoil water, and reusing runoff water from collectors and drainage pipes rather than letting it flow into water sources. They support the plan of replacing horizontal drainage pipes with vertical wells (such wells function to drain fields and water can be drawn from them), so that runoff water can be reused for irrigation. The technical problems in designing and building such wells have been solved. The specialists conclude that reusing subsoil water is a trustworthy reserve for overcoming the republic water shortage. This method would create a foundation for irrigated farming to proceed without diverting water. The proposed technique would make it possible to save at least 10 billion cm of water annually in the Syrdarya and Amudarya basin.

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#### **Moscow City Decision on Meetings, Demonstrations Discussed**

18120009b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No  
37, 20-27 Sep 87 p 15

[Text] A decision on this has recently been adopted by the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. Procurator of Moscow Lev Baranov gave an interview to MN analyst Viktor Loshak.

**Can the newly adopted decision which envisages rather strict rules for submitting applications to hold public rallies or demonstrations be considered as a restriction of constitutional rights? The relevant article in the Constitution has it that citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedoms of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. Exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by putting public buildings, streets and squares at the disposal of the working people and their organizations, by broad dissemination of information.**

The decision of the Moscow City Soviet is a form of a legal realization of Article 50 of the USSR Constitution. In that decision the state specifies the certain rights and obligations, including of its own and of those people wanting to hold a meeting or a demonstration.

**The latest Constitution of the USSR was adopted 10 years ago, while the Moscow City Soviet's decision on holding demonstrations, meetings, and street processions carries the date—August 1987.**

It is clear that the fact of adopting the decision represents an assertion of the principles of perestroika and is yet another sign of the process of widening democracy. In earlier time, no such regulations were needed because all meetings and demonstrations were so strictly regulated. Regretfully, some people mistook the widening of democracy for the legalization of permissiveness. This latest decision is an act of democracy's struggle against permissiveness.

What's the opinion of the Procurator's Office about the possible prohibitive actions against public rallies and demonstrations taken by the Executive Committees authorized to issue permission for these? Overcautiousness may be the motive. The decision itself plays into the hands of overcautious officials. For example, the maximal term for the consideration of an application is seven days. What should be done iff people wish to express their opinion about a certain event immediately? Must there be a week-long wait?

We also thought about this when examining the draft of the decision. It should be born in mind that seven days is the maximum. The political maturity of the officials who will consider applications and take decisions on them will apparently be revealed through the time lapse between submission of an application and announcement of the decision on it. Red-tapism manifests itself in the tendency to forbid. It is typical of officials who live and work exclusively for their own sake regarding the people's needs as alien to them. A bureaucrat tries to fit everything into his scheme for an untroubled life. The new conditions of glasnost and democracy brought to the fore some understandable—though not always healthy outbreaks.

People are eager to come to the fore, under the conditions of ever widening glasnost. But do they always do it in the best possible manner? Even those who were living under an illusion, have started to understand the necessity of taking into account both personal and state interests. It should be made crystal clear that any bureaucratic attempts to put up obstacles, stop and forbid will only hinder democratic developments. Such attempts are to be resolutely stopped.

**So what is the Moscow Procurator Office's role in this?**

Our work is not always up to the mark. Sometimes, we close our eyes to the disregard of people's legitimate rights and interests. We need to adopt a different view on many things. For example, criminal proceedings have been instituted against one industrial manager who baited one of his subordinates for criticism of him. We start to regard such situations not only from the point of view of the Criminal Code, but also consider their social aspect.

**Apparently, the decision on meetings and demonstrations represents the manifestation of that new approach. Though the new approach is being adopted slowly: Moscow's militia recently broke up a congregation of young people on Gogolevsky Boulevard and roughed some of them up.**

Not everyone manages to take the correct bearings in the situation. This also goes for the militia. They must act resolutely in cases of law-breaking, in the above-mentioned case they were eager to assert their authority. I had a talk with the officers of the regional militia headquarters involved in the case and many of them

didn't acknowledge their mistake. But it was wrong to round up young people just because they are hippies. The psychology of such people is not to be changed through the use of force.

**An open expression of personal opinions, whether it coincides with the official point of view, may become an important factor in decision making.**

We cannot talk about broad democracy and glasnost without letting people speak their minds about the ways in which our country can develop for the benefit of state and society. We must distinguish between expression of constructive opinions aimed at improving our society and spiteful or hateful criticism of the Soviet social order.

The city authorities now have the right to ban any congregations in overcrowded places, near historical monuments and in places where additional crowds might hamper street traffic, such as Red Square, Gorky Street, Prospekt Marxa, and Prospekt Kalinina.

**Officially permitted demos or rallies are a natural occurrence in many foreign countries. There are even special places, like Hyde Park in London, where people can make speeches and hold rallies without special permission. Maybe it would be a good idea for Moscow to have such a place?**

The decision in question is just the first of its kind. There will undoubtedly be further additions and specifications. One for the near future might be the naming of a certain garden or a park as a permanent place for meetings and rallies.

**Suppose I appear in the street holding the sign: "Read 'Moscow News!'" I'd definitely be detained, because I have no permission from the Moscow City Soviet.**

Of course, it's a joke, not everything has to be prearranged. There are no rules without exceptions. People cannot be stopped from speaking their minds, but with rallies or demonstrations, when large crowds are to gather in a public place, it is preferable if this is organized in compliance with the rules.

/12913

#### **Latvian Paper Accused of Concealing Facts on Demonstration**

*18080001a Riga CINA in Latvian 23 Sep 87 p 4*

[To the editorial office of 'Cina']

[Text] I am deeply convinced that this letter will not be published. Nevertheless, I want at least the editorial office to know my indignation about publications of the 'Cina.' I have my special accounts to settle with Soviet power; therefore there is neither my surname nor address on the letter, nor will you find me even from the

postmark on the envelope, because I posted the letter far away from home - purposely. I must do this also because I do not want to reveal the way by which I occasionally receive the 'Laiks' ['Time' a Latvian newspaper published in New York] newspaper.

A great deal has been written in the 'Cina' about the events of the 23rd of August at the Freedom Monument. On that day I was not in Riga; therefore, I greedily read them all. But only from the 5 September issue of the 'Laiks' did I learn such important facts which, in the period of openness so much propagated by yourselves, you should not have been allowed to conceal from the people. The first one: (I quote from the 'Laiks') "Demonstrators of various ages sang together the "Dievs, sveti Latviju" ["God, bless Latvia," the Latvian national anthem]." The second one: "the militia used a water-cannon and tear-gas to disperse the demonstrators." Where could I read these, to my mind, important pieces of news in the 'Cina'? Where is your openness?

Not at all respecting you -

A True Latvian.

#### A comment of the editorial office

So much has indeed been published in 'Cina' about the events of the 23rd of August at the Freedom Monument in Riga that it seemed directly or indirectly a reply has already been given, even, to all the remaining authors of letters and that there is no need to return to these events once more. However, hundreds of letters remain not handed over to the public at large, in which strong indignation has been expressed against the gathering organized by radio voices hostile to Soviet power and a small handful of nationalists. But this letter urgently needs to get into the newspaper. And this is why.

Fulfilling their duties as journalists, several workers of 'Cina' observed those events at the Freedom Monument from the beginning to the end. There were journalists from many other editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, other eyewitnesses present. All of them categorically assert that the anthem of bourgeois Latvia was not sung, they did not see a water-cannon, they did not smell tear-gas. Does any Riga person know what this is all about?

We had to review this anonymous letter of "A True Latvian" in order to give all the readers of the 'Cina' if only a small notion of what the information given by the 'Laiks' newspaper published in America, as well as other publications of reactionary emigres, the Voice of America and Free Europe broadcasting stations is worth. To the editorial office of the 'Cina' and to an overwhelming number of its readers this was clear already a long time ago.

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#### Paper Describes Members of Latvian Helsinki'86 Group

18080001b Riga CINA in Latvian 28 Aug 87 p 4

#### As blind gad-flies in hot weather

#### What is this, the so-called "Helsinki-86" group?

[Text] First of all within the framework of realistic thinking I shall let loose a brief flight of free phantasy: the Moscow radio in its German language broadcasts has, for several weeks running, patiently and persistently appealed to, let us say, the inhabitants of Vienna to organize on a certain day and hour a protest demonstration in the magnificent square which is located by the chef-d'oeuvre of Gothic architecture, the St Stephen's cathedral. It is not difficult to imagine what would happen in such an event in the world. A real international whirlwind of indignation and protests would arise which would storm not only across Europe but would certainly also reach the faraway transoceanic shores. The Western press and politicians would qualify such an action as blackmail and a naked interference in the internal affairs of another sovereign state.

The Moscow radio indeed gives information and commentaries in many foreign languages to an extensive foreign audience. To a considerably more modest extent the same is done also by the Riga radio. In international practice already for a long time this has not been any longer a new discovery. But is anybody able to find over the decades even a single example of any USSR radio broadcast having expressed even an indirect indication or hint to some left-wing grouping abroad, not to speak at all about any significant and influential political forces which could be urged to turn against the official and legal governments in Vienna, Bonn, Paris, or Washington? It is another matter that we criticize in an argumentative manner some aspect of the activity of some or other governments. But we never sanction coarse interference in the internal affairs of those countries.

Yet the editorial offices of Latvian broadcasts of the Voice of America and Free Europe radio stations are doing this—openly, impudently, brutally, and in a hostile manner, not observing even the most elementary norms of international relations. This is testified also by the events well known to all of us which took place on the 23rd of August at the Monument of Liberty in Riga. The republic press, radio and television have already reported about this; therefore, a more detailed account of the course of events is no longer necessary. But this time let us try to find an answer to another important and intriguing question—what really is the so-called "Helsinki-86" group? In order to learn this I went to a deputy of the Latvian SSR procurator, Aivars Zakis.

First of all, I was troubled by an essential contradiction. The members of this group, as we know, have advertised themselves as "real Latvians," "defenders of their people and culture." If this is so, then why have these "national patriots" given their group a typically imported title and not a Latvian one?

Yes, what connection has Helsinki with Latvia?

The answer to this important question can only be in the affirmative: a most direct one.

Why has not the little group been named Rusins, Laima, Gaujava, Viesturs, Saulvedis or by another name of typically Latvian origin. Quite simply because perhaps every American senator, with a regular petition being placed before him, prepared for dispatching to Moscow or Riga, could begin to doubt whether it would be convenient for him to put his signature under an alien and incomprehensible Rusins or Laima. Another matter is Helsinki—it sounds phonetic and political.

As the number of the year testifies, the "Helsinki-86" group was founded last year. At present there are some 10 participants in it. Three live abroad. This "foreign section" contains secretary of the so-called legation of Latvia in Washington, John Lusis. Let us remember that this legation as well as the Free Europe broadcasting station is financed by the CIA. Also in addition, the Sovietologist and clergyman Juris Calitis has joined it. And quite recently Rolands Silaraups, who left Latvia, became their associate.

In the beginning, the so-called group was led by the Liepaja man Linards Grantins who was born in 1950. He has finished eight grades. At present L. Grantins is serving a sentence imposed on him for a deliberate evasion of training in the army. Because of that, Janis Barkans has taken the reins of leadership into his hands.

He is an odious person. Born in 1959, he resides in Rezekne where he works as a watchman at the bread combine. He is unmarried, and according to the opinion of a forensic medical expert commission, infantile. Sentenced for the first time in 1977 for malicious hooliganism, he was repeatedly sentenced in 1981 and 1983. Studying at a sanatory-type boarding school, he finished nine grades. Although Janis Barkans had been wearing out the school bench for one year more than his predecessor Linards Grantins, the present leader, nevertheless, he excels in the group by an eminent "literacy" and a super-low intellect. At the Latvian SSR procuracy, being questioned about the non-aggression treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany concluded on 23rd August 1939, he had replied at first that it had been bilaterally signed by... Hitler with Ribbentrop. Janis Barkans perhaps became conscious that with his more than modest knowledge at a public gathering he could become like Kencis of the brothers Kaudzites [a character in one of the best-known Latvian novels, "The Times of the Land Surveyors" by Reinis and Matiss Kaudzite], who during a festive meal was nevertheless pushed on to the rostrum. Therefore, afraid to experience the same kind of dishonour, he said: "I am no orator, therefore I'll not deliver a speech."

In the criminal case I acquainted myself with the "memoranda" written by the members of the so-called "Helsinki-86" group to the United Nations Organization, the Pope of Rome, to various foreign public organizations. As it can be seen, the geography of the correspondence is indeed global.

At first I had naively imagined that I would see these "international documents" in good form and translated into foreign languages. But never mind the languages of other countries, when even the texts in our own native language which have been composed by the "real Latvian patriots" swarm and teem with mistakes of orthography, punctuation and style. And the application addressed to UNO has been set out on a modest ribbon of paper and in such letters with which usually an old rural area uncle scribbles a petition to the female manager of the local cow-section of a farm, to allocate to him a couple of loads of cow-shed manure for stimulating the fertility of his small garden plot.

All right, let us leave the form alone. Let us have a look at the contents. What is it that the authors of the petitions, Linards Grantins, Martins Bariss and Raimonds Bitenieks wish to report "in the name of the Latvian people" to the foreign public? That for our people it only remained to gnaw "bones, hooves and udders," that the Russians were said to feel towards smaller peoples "cinicism and hatred." The Latvians who reside abroad are being appealed to "not to lock themselves into a narrow national circle" and not to forget that "the situation of our people is critical." And in the conclusion a real "new discovery" can be read: "history proves that the foundations of independence of every people have been laid in emigration." In this connection it is indeed useful to be reminded that bourgeois Latvia was founded in her time on her own territory, although of course, with the assistance of foreign countries' weapons.

The company in the so-called "Helsinki-86" group is indeed select. But in the Latvian language for such persons some other suitable and characteristic description can be found as well—dregs of society.

In the beginning of the 1980's, Raimonds Bitenieks was punished for attempting, together with his under-age daughter Eva, to cross the border of our State illegally in a motor boat.

Arijs Tomsons, who resides at the Babite village of Riga rayon and does not work anywhere, is facing at present an especially difficult dilemma. The religious congregation, of which he is a member, has presented him an ultimatum: if he wishes to remain in the congregation he must end his anti-State activity in the "Helsinki-86" group. And for the time being, Arijs Tomsons is said to be unable to get a clear idea of himself. He is said to be unable to decide who is closer to him—god or...

Some of the participants of the "Helsinki-86" group and their associates have yet another characteristic feature—they do not work anywhere. But several of these persons are the owners of expensive foreign apparatuses. Where do these come from? It came to mind that these people here in Latvia have, after all, many rich persons abroad, holding the same views...

The father of two under-age children, Janis Rozkalns, who was born in 1949, has not officially joined the "Helsinki-86" group, but he is an active sympathizer of it. To the question by procuracy workers, of why he has not worked since February, he replied: "I am on the sick-list." Let us remark that J. Rozkalns has just now received permission to emigrate abroad.

Flowers, as we know, adorn both a person himself and his home, as well as a place dear and sacred to the entire society. With flowers we honour the memory of the friends and kinsmen who have departed for the other world. This is a truth known to everybody. But this time I had to conclude the opposite, that with flowers it is possible not only to honour but also to defile.

I read and do not believe my eyes. And yet it is the truth—even more bitter than the bitterest wormwood. Arijs Tomsons has confirmed with his signature the following words said by him, that "the aim of laying of flowers is to honour the memory of those fallen from among Latvians on the side of Hitlerite Germany in World War II." Is this not a most direct blasphemy? Therefore it is no wonder that some went to the Monument of Liberty with flowers in hands, but some others—with a knife in their pockets.

However, in comparison to the overt preaching of fascism by the ill-famed Rolands Silaraups, the opinions of Arijs Tomsons are only a babble of a feeble child.

Here and further on I shall quote the statements of Rolands Silaraups which have been confirmed by his signature. The author's exact style has been left in the text, only the punctuation marks have been placed correctly.

Rolands Silaraups, who was born on 18 October 1965 in Riga, openly admits:

"In recent years I began to read books which were published during the time of bourgeois Latvia and also during the time of occupation by fascist Germany. Likewise, already from childhood, my father's library at home was accessible to me, in which there were also the 'Laikmets' ('Era') magazines published in Latvia during the time of German fascist occupation. I leafed through these magazines already at an early age, and later also read them, and fascist ideology seemed attractive to me. I came to the conviction that fascism is better than the Soviet system.

I found a German fascist army soldier's belt buckle somewhere in the country a very long time ago, when I did not yet attend school. It was rusty. I cleaned it and kept it after that because I liked that kind of a buckle."

And further:

"I am convinced that it is easier for people to live under capitalism. Therefore I think that it would have been better if German fascism would have won in World War II."

Rolands Silaraups very much wanted to get abroad. He admits:

"In Moscow I wished to get to a foreign country's embassy, it was all the same which one it would have been. In the beginning I wished to get to the US embassy, where I would have requested political asylum. After that, I would travel abroad—to a capitalist country, but later I wished to live in the future in the USA."

It could be thought that the poor striver experienced material difficulties. But the average earnings at the VEF production association of Riga, where Rolands Silaraups in recent time worked, in various months was as follows: R 230, 270, 225, 252 and 328.

In the spring of this year he requested an exit visa. And in the summer he also received such a permit. But at that moment, voices were heard in the West that Silaraups was being expelled from the Soviet Union.

Psychologists and sociologists assert that a person most frequently is said to be compelled to lie at such a moment when difficulties or trouble befall upon him. The Western special services experienced such bitterness at the moment when Rolands Silaraups received an emigration permit. It is no secret that for these masters the most advantageous version would have been the refusal of such a visa. This would give cause to a regular campaign of lies about the disregard of human rights. And it would have indeed been of more value for Rolands Silaraups, who has been depicted as a martyr, to remain in Riga. Then there would have been one more person who fooled about at the Monument of Liberty on the 23rd of August.

There are no latest facts at my disposal which show that from Sweden Rolands Silaraups would have been honoured with a permit to arrive at the country of his dreams and longing—the USA. If this trip also for the time being has not taken place, it is possible that it could be realized later. Only, in such an event the bitter irony of fate would have to be ascertained—Rolands Silaraups then would have to drink of the well into which he himself had recently spat. Namely, he asserts: "The USA acted wrongly by helping the Soviet Union in World War II."

It would be fitting to refresh Rolands Silaraups very pale knowledge of history with yet another unpleasant fact: in World War II the USA not only helped the Soviet Union, but also themselves fought against the fascism, close and dear to the heart and mind of Rolands Silaraups. (By the way, R. Silaraups could have read slanderous articles about the American people also in the 'Laikmets').

The events of 23 August at the Monument of Liberty clearly showed what everyone is, and that the blind gad-fly, being itself sightless, nevertheless on a hot summer day knows how to find a place where to bite. But among the people there is a saying that the life-span of the blind gad-fly is very short—either the cow kills it with the tail or it dies itself a natural death.

For the sake of clarity I shall add this about killing: this time I mean it not in the direct but in the metaphorical sense. I imagine that by the Monument of Liberty microphones and television cameras have been placed on a platform. I am convinced that a conversation with the "intellectuals" of the so-called "Helsinki-86" group would be very instructive. Even a rank-and-file propagandist could put them into an awkward situation in front of the crowd.

K. Pakalns

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### **LiSSR Paper Reports on Anti-Soviet Demonstration**

*18090001 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 25 Aug 87 p 4*

[Arnoldas Caikovskis article under the "Reporting from the Scene of Events" rubric: "Little Rain from a Big Cloud. A Story About an Action Carried Out by People Obedient to Imperialists"]

[Excerpts] Nearby the church of St Nicolas a group of people are standing as if queuing for something; something is being distributed. A passer-by becomes interested: perhaps it's a little market? A woman puts him to shame, telling him it is a sacred place.

In twos and threes people are moving towards the monument to Adam Mickiewicz. A stocky fellow in a black suit, slightly limping, walks in front of them. Next to him is a woman, probably his wife. She is walking with flowers in her hands. Both are wearing black ribbons.

"Have we been to a burial? No, we are going to pay homage to the victims." "Would you agree to explain what prompted you to come here?" I asked a middle aged man with a raw-boned face who was stooping slightly. He had just finished singing a hymn.

"Why not?" he answered. "We have glasnost." His eyes glared.

"Yes, that's true...."

"I was listening to foreign radio stations."

"Do you organize your whole life according to orders from abroad?"

The man turned away, annoyed.

Having listened to our conversation, a woman in floral dress said: "Just listen to those people speaking at the monument! These renegades would like bourgeois times to return. This will never happen again! My parents told me what a 'lovely' time it was. Who am I? My name is Ona Stankeviciene. I am a dressmaker."

William Eaton, (transcribed from Lithuanian spelling) LOS ANGELES TIMES correspondent, and other foreign journalists arrived in Vilnius. They spoke to some people at the monument to Adam Mickiewicz.

William Keller, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, inquired:

"How many people do you think have gathered here?"

"And what do you think?," I asked again.

"Do you see this house?"—he indicated a building standing in front of us. "I went to the third floor of this house to take a picture. It looked like there were several hundred."

He saw as many as he wanted to. I asked him what prompted him to come here.

"The TASS announcement," he said, and then after a while he corrected himself. "My fellow co-workers from the United States told me about the forthcoming demonstration."

A woman wearing spectacles was pushing towards the correspondent. "I am Nijole Sadunaite," she introduced herself. I saw that woman from a distance when she was speaking at the monument. Now she began telling the foreigner her biography in Russian, pretending to be a defender of the Lithuanian nation.

"From whom are you defending Lithuanians, and who authorized you to do this?"

Once again she kept telling her biography, stressing her nationalistic convictions and religious feelings, claiming to be the leader of this racket.

The organizers of the "demonstration" claimed that they had come to pay homage to the victims who died during and after the war. However, in fact, instigated from abroad and making use of the present glasnost, they attempted to incite the nations, to blacken the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania and its joining with the USSR.

People who by chance happened to be at the monument to Adam Mickiewicz listened to the provocative speeches and also wanted to speak, to give their opinion that they disagreed with the instigators.

However, the raging "demonstrators" did not give them a chance to speak.

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**KaSSR: Aral Crop Reductions Not So Easy in Practice**

*18320403c Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh  
28 Aug 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 28 August 1987 carries on page 4 a 2,400-word article by QAZAQ ADEBIYETI special reporter Otepbergen Aqypbekov, published under the new rubric "Space for the Aral," entitled "The Sea and Agriculture." The article, inaugurating a new, regular series of articles to be published under the new rubric, looks not at the ecological and human sides to the problem, already the subject of several QAZAQ ADEBIYETI articles, but at the relationship of the Aral question to agriculture, rice and cotton growing in particular. Aqypbekov makes the clear point in his discussion that the issues are more complicated than realized and that it is, in many respects, not easy to make the kind of regional changes in water use patterns that will be needed to "save" the Aral. In particular, a shift to other crops from rice and cotton may mean major potential water savings, but it will also mean a drastic fall in agricultural output in an area where agriculture is often marginal to begin with. It remains to be seen if it will be possible to absorb the economic as well as the environmental consequences of the Aral problem. In this connection, he suggests that it is the economic consequences which have still not been thought out or planned for.

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**KaSSR: Substitute Materials Used to Speed Lagging Road Building**

*18320403d Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 15 Aug 87 p 4*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 15 August 1987 carries on page 4 a 700-word unattributed KazTAG article entitled "Is It Difficult To Build Roads?" The article notes current goals in the area of large scale road construction (12,000 kilometers of new paved road this 5-year plan) and stresses the need to use substitute road building materials if these goals are to be met. Examples are provided of road construction successfully carried out with natural bitumen, industrial wastes, and similar substitute materials.

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**Semipalatinsk Sovkhozes Fail to Provide Vegetables**

*18320403f Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 13 Aug 87 p 3*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 13 August 1987 carries on page 3 a 600-word article by SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN reporter D. Seysenov, published under the rubric "Guaranteeing Supplies of Food: A Responsible Duty," entitled "Why Are Vegetables Not Abundant?" The article complains of failure by local sovkhozes to meet contracts for the supply of produce to Semipalatinsk city, which is dependent upon these local sovkhozes almost entirely for its supplies. The suggestion is made that the problem is by and large artificial and is caused by failure of producers to draw proper conclusions from past mistakes and achieve the required level of organization. The situation is described as much worse than in previous years.

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